

THE CRUSADERS  
UNDER THE PALM

ALLEGORICAL PLANTS AND COSMIC  
KINGSHIP IN THE *LIBER FLORIDUS*

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The following study is substantially the same as a paper delivered at the Symposium on "Current Work in Medieval and Byzantine Studies," held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1972.

**L**N the year 1120, Lambert, secular canon of St. Omer, completed his encyclopedia and gave it the title, *Liber Floridus*.<sup>1</sup> As a compendium of secular and theological information, Lambert's book clearly appealed to the Middle Ages, for nine illustrated copies, dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, have come down to us.<sup>2</sup> The modern attitude toward the *Liber Floridus* is somewhat less enthusiastic but remarkably consistent in its viewpoint, which might be characterized as gently paternalistic. In fact, the title of the encyclopedia itself, chosen as Lambert innocently states in his preface because he believes his texts are the "flowers of literature," has become virtually a *topos* for a garden run riot in twentieth-century discussions of the book as a whole.<sup>3</sup> As early as 1906, Leopold Delisle described Lambert's horticultural arrangement as "bizarre" and based on the method of random

<sup>1</sup> A terminal date of 1120 for the compilation was established by L. Delisle, "Notices sur les manuscrits du 'Liber Floridus' composé en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 38, 2 (1906), 577–791, on the basis of internal evidence. Several final entries of the reigns of emperors, kings, popes, patriarchs, as well as local events, range from about 1117 to 1120, and after the completion of the manuscript a paschal table was inserted on fol. 28 for use during the years 1121–1142. The editor of the recently issued facsimile of the manuscript, A. Derolez (*Lamberti S. Audomari canonici Liber Floridus, codex autographus bibliothecae universitatis Gandavensis*, with Introd. by A. Derolez and E. I. Stubbe [Ghent, 1968], vii f.) has further substantiated Delisle's dating. We have no factual information concerning Lambert's own lifespan other than an entry in the annals on fol. 43v indicating that his father died in 1077.

At present, a confusion exists in the literature on the *Liber Floridus* concerning the pressmark of the Ghent manuscript. Although it was identified as MS 92 by Delisle, it is cited as MS 16 by A. Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen bis zum Ausgang der romanischen Zeit* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), 121; A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art* (London, 1939), 65 note 1; H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (London, 1954), 58 note 114. It appears as MS 1125 in C. Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century* (Geneva, 1958), 158f.; L. Behling, *Die Pflanzenwelt der mittelalterlichen Kathedralen* (Cologne, 1964), pls. LVIII, LIX; H. Toubert, "Une fresque de San Pedro de Sorpe (Catalogne) et le thème iconographique de l'ARBOR BONA-ECCLESIA, ARBOR MALA-SYNAGOGA," *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 19 (1969), fig. 14. The pressmark MS 16 may derive from a confusion between the manuscript catalogue of the Ghent University Library prepared by J. A. Walwein de Tervliet in 1815, where it was indexed as MS 6 (according to the editors of the facsimile), and an annotation made in a copy of that catalogue some time after 1843 by J. de Saint-Genois, who listed it as MS 83. By 1849, Saint-Genois had changed the pressmark to MS 92 in his comprehensive *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la ville et de l'université de Gand* (Ghent, 1849–52), 14–44. B. Blumenkranz has attempted to resolve the difficulty by giving the Ghent manuscript the pressmark of 92 (olim 16) in "Géographie historique d'un thème de l'iconographie religieuse: les représentations de *Synagoga* en France," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, II (Poitiers, 1966), 1156, but this does not agree with the history of the manuscript as given by Derolez. I cannot speculate on the origins of the pressmark 1125. Only one copy of the *Liber Floridus* exists in the University Library of Ghent and it bears the pressmark 92. All folios cited here will refer to that manuscript under that number unless otherwise stated.

<sup>2</sup> Delisle, "Notices," remains the fundamental study for the nine copies. I list them here since several will be cited later in this article: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl., Cod. Gud. lat. 1.2<sup>o</sup> (second half of the twelfth century); Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8865 (second half of the thirteenth century); Leiden, Univ. Lib., MS Voss lat. F31 (end of the thirteenth century); Chantilly, Mus. Condé, MS 1596 (mid-fourteenth century); Geneva, Priv. coll. (fourteenth century); Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 9675 (dated 1429); Douai, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 796 (mid-fifteenth century); The Hague, Bibl. Royale, MS 72.A.23 (Y 392) (dated 1460); The Hague, Bibl. Royale, MS 128. c. 4 (Y 407) (French trans., dated 1512).

<sup>3</sup> Fol. 3v: . . . libellum istum de diversorum auctorum floribus Deo sanctoque Audomaro . . . contextui. . . . Quem, quoniam sic ratio postulat, Floridum intitulavi, quia et variorum librorum ornatibus floret rerumque mirandarum narratione prepollet.

selection.<sup>4</sup> In the course of his second lecture on medieval encyclopedias, delivered at the Warburg Institute in 1939, Fritz Saxl went a step further and bluntly accused Lambert of being "an enemy of systematic organization."<sup>5</sup> Minor variations of these remarks, usually linked to Lambert's rather unfortunate title, appear in every publication on the *Liber Floridus* to date and they have had a very real effect on both scholarly endeavor and the integrity of the original work.<sup>6</sup> Faced with a seemingly haphazard collection of texts and pictures drawn from a bewildering number of spheres (e.g., general history, mirabilia, local events, theology, the sciences, and romantic literature, to mention a few of Lambert's categories), historians and art historians tenaciously pursue parallel but quite distinct paths in approaching the encyclopedia. Historians concentrate on Lambert's textual fidelity; art historians invariably seek the sources, pictorial and literary, of Lambert's images almost anywhere rather than within the fabric of the book itself.<sup>7</sup>

Two examples of this humanistic division and its effect on our concept of the *Liber Floridus* should suffice. E. M. Sanford, the only historian who has acknowledged a certain unity of thought in the encyclopedia, finds this in Lambert's obvious interest in local events.<sup>8</sup> Simultaneously, she dismisses his

<sup>4</sup> Delisle, "Notices," 577, 579, 580, not only calls the *Liber Floridus* "mal ordonné" but frankly admits that one of the major contributions of the copyists is that they were not "obligés de reproduire le pèle-mêle du manuscrit original...."

<sup>5</sup> F. Saxl, "Illustrated Medieval Encyclopedias," *Lectures*, I (London, 1957), 242.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., for instance, A. Goldschmidt, "Frühmittelalterliche illustrierte Enzyklopädien," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, 1923–1924* (London, 1926), 221f.; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III (Munich, 1931), 241–44; Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting*, 158; Behling, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, 44; C. R. Dodwell, *Painting in Europe: 800–1200* (Pelican History of Art: Harmondsworth, 1971), 171 and note 78 (who continues to give the Ghent pressmark as 16 despite a reference to the facsimile edition); A. Derolez, "Un colloque sur le 'Liber Floridus,'" *Scriptorium*, 21 (1967), 308f. The discussions of the *Liber Floridus* Colloquium had not been published by the time this article went to press.

<sup>7</sup> The facsimile edition of 1968 does not attempt to do more than list the subjects of the major illustrations, and it is indicated that a forthcoming study on the manuscript will be strictly codicological in nature. Even in terms of textual analysis, of critical importance to the study of the *Liber Floridus*, most of historical attention has focused on the annals and other factual data. In regard to the literary sources, Delisle, *op. cit.*, 578f., simply advises the reader to compare Lambert's version of Bede's vision of Drotelmus with the original in order to discover the severity of the reduction. A serious investigation of two of Lambert's images may be found in J. Poesch, "The Beasts from Job in the *Liber Floridus* Manuscripts," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 33 (1970), 41–51. In this study, the iconographic sources for the Behemoth and the Leviathan are traced to a prototypic Middle Byzantine illustrated *Catena in Job* through the intermediaries of two manuscripts dating from nearly one to four centuries later than Lambert's work. While it is possible that Lambert had access to an early Greek manuscript, a study of the apocalyptic texts concerned with Antichrist elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus* suggests that he might just as plausibly have combined the visual imagery of Gregory's text with the quite common motifs of apocalyptic demons and other apparitions riding the beasts of Revelation.

<sup>8</sup> E. M. Sanford, "The *Liber Floridus*," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 26 (1940–41), 469–78. Unquestionably, Sanford recognized the importance of Lambert's inclusion of genealogic data, and elsewhere ("The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 5 [1944], 21–43) she has emphasized the relevance of such medieval chronologies in that period's view of its own position within universal history. Still, she concludes that the encyclopedia's "haphazard" structure and frequent repetitions are due to the difficulties of obtaining texts for transcription for an extended period of time. I would suggest, alternatively, that the repetitions are positive reinforcements of the author's pattern of thought and that, logically, we have every reason to believe that he had an excellent library at his command both in the collegiate church of St. Omer, where he held office, and certainly in the library of the monastery of St. Bertin at the foot of the town. A partial listing of the contents of the library of St. Bertin is contained in an inventory of 1104 (cf. Gustav H. Becker,

inclusion of virtues, miracles, and the vast array of moral and theological tracts, presumably along with those images not directly related to northern France, as "having their uses, but not of direct service to the historian."<sup>9</sup> On the art historical frontier, quite a number of articles has appeared in the last decade which commandeer Lambert's images for induction into tightly organized iconographic systems. The classic example concerns Lambert's double illustration of the trees of virtue and vice, the *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* (figs. 7, 8). Without fail, the *Liber Floridus* trees are equated with such twelfth-century moralized trees as those of Hugh of St. Victor, Conrad of Hirsau, and Honorius of Autun.<sup>10</sup> Regrettably for Lambert, the trees of Hugh and his contemporaries are all neatly ordered schemas enabling the reader to climb, step by step, from the bottom branches to a foreseeable termination at the top (figs. 15, 16).<sup>11</sup> An attempt to climb Lambert's *Arbor Bona* results in a futile exercise at bush tactics. Due to the fact that the allegorical trees in the *Liber Floridus* were conceived about twenty years prior to their so-called successors, they occupy the uncomfortable position of having given an untidy birth to a

*Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, 77 [Bonn, 1885]. Albeit cursory in approach, the catalogue entries reveal the existence of three hundred and five works by authors upon whom Lambert heavily relies.

<sup>9</sup> Sanford, "The Liber Floridus," 478.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. in particular Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, 65ff.; Behling, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, 43–49, and *idem*, "Ecclesia als Arbor Bona. Zum Sinngehalt einiger Pflanzendarstellungen des 12. und frühen 13. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kunsthistorische Beiträge und Kritiken*, 13 (1959), 139–54; E. S. Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree," *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 322–71, and esp. 366; *idem*, *Die Geistigen Voraussetzungen der Bilderreihe des Speculum Virginum*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, XXXIX, 2 (Münster, Westfalen, 1962), 98. The earliest illustrated manuscript of Hugh of St. Victor, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, in Salzburg (Studienbibliothek, MS Sign. V. 1. H 162, fols. 75v, 76), is discussed in Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, 66f. and figs. 66, 67; cf. also E. von Frisch, "Über die Salzburger Handschrift von Hugo von St. Victors Opusculum *De fructu carnis et spiritus*," *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger* (Munich, 1930), 67–71, where the Hugh illustration is linked to a Leipzig manuscript from Alzelle which stands iconographically midway between Hugh's works and those of Conrad of Hirsau. The Salzburg manuscript dates late in the second quarter of the twelfth century. On the *Speculum Virginum* schemas attributed to Conrad, see the discussion in Greenhill, *Speculum Virginum*, 71–99 and figs. 3, 4, illustrating the oldest manuscript, Arundel 44, fols. 28v, 29, probably produced in the fourth decade of the twelfth century. For the manuscript of the *Speculum Virginum* reproduced here, cf. A. Watson, "A Manuscript of the *Speculum Virginum* in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 10 (1947), 61–74. The relations between the *Liber Floridus* and the concepts of Honorius of Autun are emphasized by Behling, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, 43ff., whilst Lambert's trees are related more generally to the whole category of medieval symbolic trees (with or without Virtues and Vices) by Toubert, "Une fresque de San Pedro de Sorpe," 180f. and fig. 2, and by G. Ladner, "Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of the Renaissance," in *De artibus opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961), 303–22 and esp. 309 note 28.

<sup>11</sup> The schematic "climbing" trees were not, of course, bred in a vacuum. As has often been stated, their ancestry leads back to such ladder images as the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus, composed in the sixth century and widely illustrated in post-iconoclastic Byzantium (cf. J. Martin, *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* [Princeton, 1954]). This ladder agrees with the standardized trees to the extent that the three theological virtues occupy the transitional position between man and Christ. The Tree of Jesse, also popularized in the first half of the twelfth century, is related to the schematized trees, if not to those of Lambert (cf. A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* [London, 1954], and *idem*, "The *Speculum Virginum* with Special Reference to the Tree of Jesse," *Speculum*, 3 [1928], 445–69). It should be noted that, whereas most authors of the schematized trees resort to ladder images in a variety of ways, Lambert positively avoids them in the *Liber Floridus*. Conrad produced allegorical ladders in the *Flesh and the Spirit* and the *Ladder of St. Perpetua*, and both Herrad of Landsberg in the *Hortus deliciarum* and Hildegard of Bingen in the *Scivias* constructed Ladders of Virtue (cf. C. Cames, *Allegories et symboles dans l'Hortus deliciarum* [Leiden, 1971], pl. XLVIII, fig. 81, and Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, fig. 48). For Honorius of Autun's "climbing" tree and the ladder image in general, cf. Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree," esp. 368.

symbolic pictorial system which operates perfectly smoothly by the mid-twelfth century.

I think it is possible to question the methodology to which the *Liber Floridus* has been subjected and to suggest that the divorce between text and image in the encyclopedia is one of modern manufacture. By concentrating on Lambert's allegorical trees, partly because they have been so widely publicized and partly because superficially they constitute some of the best examples of Lambert's systematic nonchalance, I intend to demonstrate that the images in question have nothing whatsoever to do with other vaguely similar pictorial schemas but only become intelligible through their relation to the textual fabric of the *Liber Floridus*. Moreover, in establishing the precise nature of the allegorical trees, a key to the medieval author's subtle and complex view of his time in history may be provided.

### *ARBOR PALMARUM*

Both the character and placement of the *Arbor Palmarum* on folio 76<sup>v</sup> (fig. 2) constitute a typical example of what has been called Lambert's gift for structural disorder. Clearly labeled *Ecclesia*, surrounded by verses from Ecclesiasticus referring to the triumph of Divine Wisdom, embracing an immense cycle of virtues and vices, and firmly planted on the summit of Mount Zion, the *Arbor Palmarum* is manifestly a symbol of the Church. It forms, however, neither a self-contained chapter in the encyclopedia nor is it embedded in a chapter which appears to have anything to do with the obviously allegorical nature of the tree. The chapter (LX: fig. 1) begins on the recto of folio 76 and is entitled *Genealogia Comitum Normannorum*.<sup>12</sup> It contains both a chronological list of Norman counts and, squeezed into the right margin, an additional catalogue of Gothic kings and Norman dukes. Furthermore, this series of unrelated genealogies seems to spill over onto the verso of folio 76 where, beneath the huge palm, one encounters on the left a list of the successive kings of Jerusalem and on the right the patriarchs of the same city. According to the theory of lack of structure, this collision between the spheres of pure historical fact and of theological allegory is characteristic of Lambert's complete disinterest in textual and pictorial relationships; the genealogies reflect the enthusiasm of a provincial archivist whilst the symbolic *Arbor Palmarum* functions as an elaborate space filler. The idea of Lambert operating simultaneously as a minor historian fussily recording data which bear on his own

<sup>12</sup> The *Arbor Palmarum* has been studied extensively by Behling ("Ecclesia als Arbor Bona," 143f., and *Die Pflanzenwelt*, 44f.) but only as a pictorial image. Although she mentions briefly the existence of kings and patriarchs beneath the Palm she does not attempt to relate them to the tree. Nor does she consider the *Arbor Palmarum* as part of a greater chapter and thus avoids the Norman and Gothic genealogies altogether. Regrettably, one also detects a certain art-historical indifference toward historical subject matter in her consistent use of the Wolfenbüttel illustrations for both the *Arbor Palmarum* and the *Lilium inter Spinas*. This fact is critical in the case of the *Lilium*, for the Wolfenbüttel copy deletes a whole section of the page as Lambert intended it to look. In the case of the *Arbor Palmarum*, the Wolfenbüttel manuscript presents the reader with a static genealogy rather than an active chronicle. For Lambert's direct involvement with the chronicle, see *infra*, notes 21, 25.

circumscribed terrain, and as an inventive artist with rather elevated theological pretensions is disconcerting at best. If, on the other hand, Lambert is to be rescued from this ambivalent state and a unifying theme is uncovered for the enigmatic chapter LX, then three fundamental questions come to mind. Firstly, what does Lambert actually mean by illustrating the palm rather than any other tree? Secondly, why has Lambert invested the tree with an extensive moral cycle? And finally, what is the connection between a symbolic image of the Church and information drawn largely from secular history?

Ultimately, Lambert's use of the palm as a symbol for *Ecclesia* may be traced back to the verses from Ecclesiasticus which he reproduces twice on folio 76v. At the top of the page, the eight trees are noted (Eccl. 24:17–19, 22–23) whilst two portions of the same text—*Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades et quasi cypressus in Monte Syon*—are inscribed within the double rim which Lambert has drawn around the perimeter of the palm branches.<sup>13</sup> These passages serve a dual function. At the outset they reinforce the identification of an explicit geographic location for the Church in her various arboreal guises, and in combining the palm and the cypress Lambert makes it perfectly clear that his tree is not the scriptural palm of Cades but is specifically located on Mount Zion, *Terra Iuda*.<sup>14</sup> Secondly, the text which circumscribes the fronds acts as a spiritual protective barrier. It makes it visually apparent that the virtues are contained within the framework of this particular Church whilst the vices are kept without.

As far as the eight trees of Ecclesiasticus are concerned, they form the classic manifestation of the Church Triumphant throughout the Middle Ages,

<sup>13</sup> The entire list at the top of the page reads: *Quasi cedrus in Lybano, et cypressus in monte Syon, et palma in Cades, et plantatio rosae in Hiericho, et oliva in campis, et platanus iuxta aquam et terebinthus et vitis dedi suavitatem odoris.*

<sup>14</sup> Behling ("Ecclesia als Arbor Bona," 144, and *Die Pflanzenwelt*, 44) has inexplicably placed the Palm on "Mons Syon: Terra Lyda." Not only has Lambert (and the Wolfenbüttel copyist) clearly written *Terra Iuda* in red ink to the right of the tree, but it is inconceivable that he could have thought of Zion somewhere in Lydia, as Behling's transcription implies. Again, the problem seems to arise out of a neglect for Lambert's historical sensitivities. For a medieval Christian of his time, Mount Syon was the southwest hill of Jerusalem, surmounted by the great basilica Holy Zion, Mother of all Churches, rebuilt by the crusaders and second only in size to the Holy Sepulchre. It was a *locum sanctum* on the pilgrimage route, possessing the Upper Room of the Last Supper and Pentecost, and was thought to be the site of King David's tomb. For contemporary twelfth-century accounts of the various shrines there, cf. the crusader chronicles: Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 71 (Philadelphia, 1968), 117; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (London, 1962), 87–100; Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, trans. F. R. Ryan and ed. H. S. Fink (Knoxville, 1969), 117f. In general, the most comprehensive treatment of the topographic appearance of Jerusalem remains that of H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire. II: Jérusalem nouvelle*, fasc. IV (Paris, 1926). Also useful are the texts collected by A. H. Bredero, "Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, I (Poitiers, 1966), 259–71. The assumption that Lambert is ignorant of both the topography and the history of Jerusalem dismisses a rather large portion of the encyclopedia. It should be remembered that, although the particular folios are now missing from the original manuscript, Lambert included at the outset both a plan of contemporary Jerusalem and an illustration of the Holy Sepulchre (still preserved, however, in the Leiden and Paris copies). Although distorted in terms of perspective, twelfth-century maps of Jerusalem are usually quite accurate in their placing of Mount Zion and other outstanding features of the Holy City. For medieval maps of Jerusalem in general and that of Lambert in particular, cf. K. Miller, *Mappemundi, Die ältesten Weltkarten*, Heft III (Stuttgart, 1895), 61ff. and fig. 14.

and Lambert, as will be seen, makes consistent use of the series elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus*.<sup>15</sup> But the palm in particular is associated with the idea of victory. Whereas all recent studies on Lambert's *Arbor Palmarum* have associated this image with symbols of martyrdom and Marian concepts, neither standard medieval exegesis nor Lambert's geographical ambience for the palm support such identifications.<sup>16</sup> Sources for an iconographic interpretation of the *Arbor Palmarum* as the Church Victorious abound in earlier medieval encyclopedias.<sup>17</sup> Of these, the moralizing commentary of Rabanus Maurus in the *De universo* has the greatest bearing on Lambert's image. Not only does Rabanus state that the palm is the *insigne victoriae* through its etymological association with the outstretched hand (the traditional *adlocutio* gesture), but he also equates the tree with virtue. For Rabanus the palm symbolizes men of courage who are embellished with virtue and kept free from all vice by their spiritual devotions.<sup>18</sup> Since Lambert has placed his palm on Mount Zion in Jerusalem, the city which, after all, witnessed the triumphal entry of Christ (heralded by palms), one need not look further than Rabanus in order to pinpoint the inspirational source for the merging of the *Arbor Palmarum* with a cycle of virtue and vice.

As an encyclopedist himself, Lambert relied upon the *De universo* and other works by his ninth-century predecessor, as the contents of the *Liber Floridus* prove. However, Lambert was equally attuned to patristic writings, and among

<sup>15</sup> On fol. 139v and 140 each tree receives its individual portrayal with the appropriate Ecclesiasticus passage prefaced by *Vox Eccles.* On fol. 230v, the eight trees are cited in connection with the *Lilium inter Spinas* and most of them reappear on the composite *Arbor Bona* of fol. 231v. Finally, Lambert also places them at the top of his list of *Arbores* in his comprehensive catalogue of trees, plants, and miscellaneous vegetable matter in chapter CXVI.

<sup>16</sup> For the sources of most of the Marian interpretations, cf. A. Salzer, *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters* (Linz, 1893), 182ff. Toubert, "Une fresque de San Pedro de Sorpe," *passim*. Behling ("Ecclesia als Arbor Bona," 144, 146, 147 note 3) employs passages from Jacobus de Varagine (*Mar. serm.*, I, in *Sermones aurei in Evangelia... Accessit recens Mariale de B. Virginis. Omnia studio ac labore R. P. Fr. Rudolphi Clutii* [Mainz, 1616], pt. 7: *De laudibus dei parae Virginis*, 130f.) and Hugh of St. Victor (*In assumpt. B. M. V. serm.*, 47, PL, 177, col. 1026ff.) in order to support a Marian theme for the *Arbor Palmarum*. Jacobus does indeed connect the tree with the Virgin through its eternal greenness, but he is writing over a century later than Lambert. Hugh of St. Victor, a near contemporary of Lambert, is unkind enough not to say what Behling would like him to. He first speaks of two palms, the first in the desert of Raphidim and the second in Cades. The former is sorrowful in the memory of its sins whilst the second rejoices in a new flourishing, a symbolic rebirth for the righteous faithful. In other words, Hugh is talking about the New Jerusalem. Immediately afterward, he states explicitly: *Palma autem victoriam significat*. Further on he mentions Mary in connection with the *palma in Cades* alone as a Maria-Ecclesia standard symbol but he does not concern himself with a palm on Mount Zion.

<sup>17</sup> Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*, III, xiii, PL, 14, col. 191, simply says that the palm signifies victory; Isidore of Seville has the same notion (*Palma dicta quia manus vicitricis ornatus est*), *Etymologiarum libri*, PL, 82, col. 609.

<sup>18</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, XIX, 6, PL, 111, cols. 511–12: *Palma dicta, quia manus vicitricis ornatus est: vel quod oppansus est ramis in modum palmae hominis. Est enim arbor insigne victoriae, procerisque ac decoro virgulto, diuturnisque vestita frondibus, et folia sua sine ulla successione conservans... Palma autem significare potest homines virtutum decore semper virentes, et dictoriam de vitiis omnibus spiritualibus capientes...*  He enlarges upon the victory theme in his *Comment. in Ecclesiasticum*, 24, PL, 109, col. 929f., where the palm becomes a symbol of the just who carry out works of faith in lands of persecution. It is also possible that there existed a pictorial representation of a Tree of Virtue (if not specifically a palm) in Rabanus' time. Cf. the descriptive poem of Theodulf of Orleans, *Carmina*, IV, PL, 105, cols. 333–35, where a Tree of Life bears on its branches the four cardinal virtues and the liberal arts.

these the *Dialogues* and *Moralia in Job* of Gregory the Great seem to have appealed greatly to his imagination. In the *Moralia* Gregory expounds at length on the nature of the palm. He notes its slowness in growth but its persistence in remaining green and compares it to the Church who slowly but firmly gathers the many into the faith. The grief of the palm arises when unbelievers intercept her progress and break by temptation the peace she has established so carefully. Moreover, the life of the just is comparable to the palm in this respect. Like the Church amidst her tribulations, their lower parts are rough to the touch whilst above they spread out with fair fruit. And in the amplitude of the palm's upper parts, which grow ever wider, Gregory finds a parallel for the rewards of those firm in faith. Ordinary trees are like men of indifferent conversion: wide at the base but weakening in virtue at the top.<sup>19</sup>

The interpretation of Gregory lends a new dimension to the drier comments of Rabanus. The scaly roughness of the bark of the trunk in contrast to the wide green expansion of fronds above are startlingly close to Lambert's pictorial image. Moreover, the palm does not simply picture the just man, but one who must retain his hard-won faith with a certain amount of struggle in the process. By implication, then, Gregory indicates that the Church, like the palm, persists in virtue but is troubled by vice.

Just as the textual sources make it clear that the palm in the *Liber Floridus* is a new entry in the list of representations of the Church Victorious and not simply an illustration of the scriptural Cadean palm, so does Lambert diligently fix the *Arbor Palmarum* of Jerusalem in time and identify the *homines videntes* for whom the moral cycle is intended. The twin genealogies of historical figures sheltered beneath the tree are critical for this representation. The list of kings on the left is preceded by a brief account of the departure of the crusaders for the Holy Land in 1096 and their successful capture of Jerusalem in 1099;<sup>20</sup> that of the patriarchs on the right of the tree is similarly prefaced by a description of the Council of Clermont in 1095, when Urban II preached the First Crusade.<sup>21</sup> In other words, the *Arbor Palmarum* is a very par-

<sup>19</sup> *Moralia in Job*, XIX, xxvii, PL 76, cols. 129–31: *Palma enim tarde proficit, sed diu in viriditate subsistit. Cum multis autem difficultatibus sancta Ecclesia ad fidei statum venit, et pro collectione plurimorum in eiusdem fidei gloria diutius stare concupiscit. Sicut palma ergo multiplicare se dies credidit, quae emergente subitae tentationis articulo, pacis suae gratiam et tarde a fidelibus adeptam, et citius ab infidelibus interceptam dolet. Nec immerito justorum vita palmae comparatur, quia scilicet palma inferius tactu aspera est, et quasi aridis corticibus obvoluta; superius vero et visu fructibus pulchra; inferius corticum suarum involutionibus angustatur, sed superius amplitudine pulchrae viriditatis expanditur.... Habet quidem aliud palma quo a cunctis arborum generibus differt. Omnis namque arbor in suo robore juxta terram vasta subsistit, sed superius crescendo angustatur, et quando paulisper sublimior, tanto in altum subtilior redditur. Palma vero minoris amplitudinis ab imis inchoat, et juxta ramos ac fructus ampliori robore exsurgit, et quae tenuis ab imis proficit, vastior ad summa succrescit.*

<sup>20</sup> *Expeditio christianorum post concilium Urbani pape anno MXCVI, et anno post tercio Iherusalem capita est anno Domini MXCIVIII*. In Lambert's hand, the *Reges Hierusalem* entered: *Godefridus filius comitis Eustachii, Baldwinus frater ejus Flandrensis, and Baldwinus de Burgo Francigena* (reigned 1118–1131). Fulk of Anjou and his son Baldwin were entered by a later hand.

<sup>21</sup> *Urbanus tunc papa Romae. Celebratum est expeditionis Iherusalem concilium a trecentis decemque patribus apud Clarum Montem, XIII kalendas decembris. Patriarchs listed by Lambert are: Daimbertus Pisanius episcopus primus, Evermarus Flandrensis, and Arnulfus Flandrensis (1111–1118). Four additional Patriarchs were entered by the same hand which included the last two Kings of Jerusalem. On Lambert's dating of the Council of Clermont, cf. J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima**

ticular Church indeed; namely, that of Jerusalem restored to Christianity in 1099.

One additional detail in the illustration supports the physical reality of the palm as the Church of crusader Jerusalem and amplifies Lambert's feelings about its existence. In constructing his moral cycle, Lambert drew upon Gregory's *Moralia in Job* for the enumeration of vices (a text which he repeats accurately on folio 81).<sup>22</sup> The virtues, on the contrary, appear to be original selections on Lambert's part. Rather than following a sequential pattern of their own, and except for four virtues, their individual natures are determined by a strong contrast to the opposing vice. The four exceptions are important. These are the four Cardinal Virtues—Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, and Prudence—which Lambert firmly places at the very top of the palm despite the fact that they find themselves ill-matched with Cupidity, Hatred, Envy, and Homicidal Tendencies.<sup>23</sup> As is well known in medieval thought, the Cardinal Virtues are geared for life in the temporal world, and the practice of them is the foundation for correct action in daily affairs, particularly in the maintenance of good government.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, in dogmatic schema one must exhibit the Cardinal Virtues before it is possible to comprehend their theological sisters—Fides, Spes, and Caritas—who apply directly to the inner, spiritual life. By stressing the Cardinal Virtues at the top of the *Arbor Palmarum*, Lambert has deliberately made them the focal point for the crusaders underneath the tree, even at the expense of disordering his own system of reasonable moral antitheses. The moral cycle is, therefore, not static but active, just as the genealogies show the progression in Lambert's own time of succeeding kingships, and space was provided for their followers. It is this

*collectio*, XX (Venice, 1775), col. 815ff. The canons of the Council are known only through a list belonging to Lambert bishop of Arras, and are dated to the IV or VI calends of December. This may refer to the close of the Council, but Lambert has entered the correct date of November for the convening of the assembly. For Lambert's knowledge of the contents of Urban's speech and the importance he attached to it, see *infra*, p. 61 and note 114.

<sup>22</sup> Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, XXXI, xlvi, PL, 76, cols. 620–22. Lambert does not, as I had thought earlier, follow Gregory's text entirely, although he does reproduce it faithfully both on fol. 81 and in the medallions of the *Arbor Mala* on fol. 232. The great majority of vices are taken from Gregory's passage but Lambert has substituted a few of his own favorites: *cupiditas*, *instabilitas* (*inconstantia* or *praecipitatio* in Gregory?), *homicidium* (*violentia* in Gregory?), *simulatio* (possibly Gregory's *hypocrisis*). Since the remaining eighteen vices are given in Gregory, Lambert may simply have substituted the name of a vice more familiar to him than to the earlier writer. Any number of Gregory's vices could play the part of *cupiditas*; however, since Lambert places this vice at the base of the *Arbor Mala*, he is not about to delete it from the context of the *Arbor Palmarum*.

<sup>23</sup> The Theological Virtues are not absent from the *Arbor Palmarum* but they do form reasonable moral antitheses with their corresponding vices and they are not connected as a group. *Fides vera* appears in contrast to *simulatio*, *caritas* to *avaritia*, and, far down on the left of the tree, *spes* counters *desperatio*. The balance of virtue-vice oppositions are either standard in medieval allegory or make perfect sense: e.g., *superbia-humilitas* and *vana gloria-timor domini*, or *fornicatio-castitas* and *discordia-pax*.

<sup>24</sup> Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, 30ff. For the specific relation of the cardinal virtues to rulers, cf. Alcuin, *Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus*, PL, 101, col. 943ff. and esp. 946, in which they form the *virtutum quadriga*; Rabanus Maurus, *Tractatus de anima*, PL, 110, col. 1115ff. The practice of framing ruler portraits with the four cardinal virtues is a phenomenon well known from the Carolingian period onward. Cf. W. Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, I. *Die Schule von Tours*, Plates (Berlin, 1930), fig. 72: Bible of Charles the Bald, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1, fol. 215v, and P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, I, Plates (Leipzig-Berlin, 1928), fig. 41: Bible of S. Callisto, S. Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 1v.

aspect of Lambert's image which sets the *Liber Floridus* apart from its predecessors in the encyclopedic tradition of the Middle Ages. The *Arbor Palmarum* is not simply moralized after the fashion of Rabanus Maurus but is given specific didactic qualities, which will serve as guidelines for actual human beings in a contemporary situation.

That the succession of kings and patriarchs of the reconquered Jerusalem is largely populated by Norman and Flemish nobility provides the first explanation for Lambert's starting point in chapter LX, the historical genealogies of these particular men. The connections between the major figures of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and St. Omer itself may well have increased Lambert's interest in including a history of the Norman counts at this time.<sup>25</sup> But Lambert's use of lengthy genealogies to begin with and the inclusion of both the Frankish predecessors of the Normans as well as the list of Gothic kings indicates that he has rather more on his mind than a straightforward presentation of Christian heros, ancestry established, comporting themselves virtuously beneath the Church they had so recently liberated. This becomes clear in the contents of the chapters immediately following which enlarge upon the themes crystallized in chapter LX: historical-genealogical, theological, and ethical. Chapter LXI (fols. 77–80v) is taken from the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great and is prefaced by the speculations of that eminent theologian on the conditions, corporeally speaking, in which God's creations will present themselves on the day of the Resurrection.<sup>26</sup> Hence, the transition from chapter LX to chapter LXI takes one from Jerusalem *restaurata* to its

<sup>25</sup> Throughout the *Liber Floridus* Lambert has entered encounters with returning crusaders to St. Omer: e.g., fol. 27v, *Boamundus dux Antiochiae ad S. Audomarum*; fol. 29, *comes Balduinus obiit et apud Sanctum Bertinum sepultus*; fol. 44, *Boamundus dux Antiochiae ad sanctum Audomarum venit*; etc. Several other personages, whose names recur in the annals, seem to have participated in the First Crusade, but at present they remain elusive. For relations between the Norman-Flemish nobility in Lambert's area and the crusades, cf. K. Setton and M. Baldwin, *A History of the Crusades*, I. *The First Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1955), 220ff., with bibliography; C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 1920), esp. 89 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Saint Gregory the Great, Dialogues*, trans. O. J. Zimmerman, O. S. B., Fathers of the Church, 39 (New York, 1959). For the sake of the reader, I use the English translation of Gregory in order to determine Lambert's working methods in compressing the text. The following analysis gives the chapter numbers in Gregory and their page numbers in Zimmerman's text. The Preface occupies fols. 77 and 77v; on fol. 77 chaps. 1–3 (pp. 189–92) of *Dialogue 4* are synthesized. Gregory concentrates on the tripartite nature of animate life containing souls: angels, men, and beasts. He affirms that only the latter possess spirits which die with their flesh, an idea of considerable importance to Lambert in his later treatment of the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar. The remainder of the Preface on fol. 77v skips from sentence to sentence throughout the whole of *Dialogue 4*, selecting passages from chaps. 5 (p. 197f.), 29 (p. 225), 30 (p. 233), 45 (p. 254), 47 (p. 258), and ends at 50 (p. 261).

Despite the quantity of material left out, Lambert's fusion of Gregory's text is remarkably coherent. His working method is one of natural progression, simply connecting sentences at some distance from each other so that the original train of thought is preserved. By deleting the extraneous portions of the *Dialogue*, Lambert moves rapidly from the corporeal dependence upon the life force of the incorporeal soul, the respective justice of the souls of the saintly and wicked in heaven and hell, the nature of the Devil and his cohorts versus the saints whom the blessed may expect to greet, the everlasting life of the soul itself (again, in either climate), and, lastly, the nature of dreams versus visions. Lambert includes a variety of visions in the *Liber Floridus* and the quality of fantasy is critical for the organization of large sections of the encyclopedia. It is rather to his credit that his final sentence, *Sed duo prima omnes experimento cognoscimus*, neatly dismisses dreams born of full or empty stomachs. Such dreams are not important for Gregory either, although his *Dialogue* proceeds further on the subject. Lambert, on the other hand, makes a point of clearing the deck for true visions.

final days at the Second Coming of Christ. Chapter LXI continues with an abbreviated chronology of the saintly popes of Rome and the miracles of St. Benedict. In his extraordinarily compact reduction of the Gregorian text in which the original four books are condensed into as many folios, Lambert focuses on virtue as a bulwark against the day of the Last Judgment and carefully emphasizes incidents in which barbarians are either confronted or converted.<sup>27</sup> The chapter thus provides a spiritual history of virtuous men of office, already in the company of saints, as meaningful prototypes for Lambert's contemporary Christian rulers under the *Arbor Palmarum*. It adds to the preceding chapter LX the new ingredient of apocalyptic concepts, systematically conveyed through dream image and vision.

The following chapter, LXII, is considerably stranger in its organization but ultimately leads us to the core of Lambert's use of successive genealogies in chapter LX. Transcribed in its entirety on folio 81, it opens innocuously enough with Gregory's description of vices from the *Moralia in Job* and is followed by a paragraph on the Cardinal Virtues.<sup>28</sup> Essentially, it is a convenient summary of the elements of the moral system for someone who prefers not to decipher the virtues and vices about the palm. At the same time, Lambert tells the reader that he has depended on no less an authority than Gregory. In the concluding paragraph of chapter LXII, however, Lambert abruptly shifts gears both conceptually and chronologically. Apparently on the basis of a passage from Josephus (*De bello Judaico*) he records the capture and destruction of Jerusalem under Titus in the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 70).<sup>29</sup> Close inspection of the text in the *Liber Floridus* reveals that Lambert has not simply copied the writings of the first-century Jewish historian, nor those of his medieval adapter, Hegesippus, but has produced a highly personal version of his own which combines historical fact with what might be called literary

<sup>27</sup> All of *Dialogue 1* is condensed on fol. 78, extending from the miracles of St. Honoratus to those of St. Severus. Encounters with barbarians include that of Libertinus with the Goth Darida, the posthumous protection of Equitius' monks from invading Lombards in Valeria, Boniface's hospitality toward the Goths, the peaceful retrieval on the part of Fortunatus of two Christian children kidnapped by Goths. As in the Preface, the saintly lives end with a fantasy: St. Severus raises from the dead a man who has experienced an abbreviated vision of heaven and hell. In gratitude, the man spends seven days in penance and dies on the eighth in anticipation of joining the blessed. The remainder of the chapter repeats the succession of themes for the third time. All of *Dialogue 2* is compressed onto fol. 78<sup>v</sup> and recounts the life of St. Benedict with its concentration on encounters with Goths and Langobards. Fols. 79 to 80<sup>v</sup> skim through *Dialogues 3* and *4*, with the lives of Paulinus of Nola, who lived in the difficult times of the Vandal raids in Campania, and his equally oppressed saintly companions. This section concludes precisely in the manner of the two previous ones: St. Cassius of Narni, a rather depressed ecclesiastic, receives a vision from God which relieves his anxiety and permits him seven years of fruitful labor for the Church. He dies immediately thereafter. Hence, out of the sprightly *Dialogues* of Gregory, Lambert has created a consistent pattern which builds up in three stages in connection with the theme of last days. The Preface is speculation and divides by logic dreams inspired by the Devil from those sent by God. The second section concludes with a common man's vision of the domain of both and his resuscitation (corporeal), activity, and welcome death by the intervention of a saint. The third section raises the tenor in that a saint is resuscitated (psychologically), given joy in his work and a peaceful death by the direct intervention of God.

<sup>28</sup> Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, XXXI, lxxxviif., PL, 76, cols. 620–22.

<sup>29</sup> Josephus, *De bello Judaico*, VI, 437ff. Lambert refers to both Josephus and Hegesippus as authors of the *De bello Judaico*. He probably made use of Hegesippus only because it was the most widely disseminated Latin version of Josephus in the Middle Ages (cf. *Hegesippi qui dicitur Historiae Libri V*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 66, 404ff.).

license. Hence, while Lambert and Josephus agree that Titus devastated the city (and Temple) on that occasion, that one million one hundred thousand were killed and ninety-odd thousand Jews were led into captivity,<sup>30</sup> Lambert adds the astounding information that Titus then ordered all of the surviving males castrated, both in Jerusalem itself and in the surrounding province, with the intention of exterminating the Jewish race. Lambert concludes that the women were thereby forced to accept husbands from the tribes of invading Huns and Vandals, and on a somewhat dour note rounds off his account with the statement that from this time onward the Jews ceased to descend from the seed of Abraham.<sup>31</sup>

The precise source of Lambert's version of the cataclysmic end of the Jewish race is not easily pinned down. Lambert very probably had access to a copy of Hegesippus and he certainly relied on Orosius when he repeated incidents of the Jewish wars on folio 192v.<sup>32</sup> However, neither of these authors mention intermarriage between barbarian and Jew, nor does the exceptional passage occur in any of the chronicles of Vandals of which Lambert makes use elsewhere in the encyclopedia.<sup>33</sup> It is, in fact, extremely unlikely that any Early Christian historian would have included either the Vandals or the Huns in a chronicle of first-century events.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Anno post passionem Domini XL<sup>mo</sup> secundo Titus, quem pater Vespasianus Romam reversus in obsidione Hierosolimorum reliquerat, Iudeorum dilaniavit populum in tantum, ut Iosephus commemorat undecies centena milia ibi esse mortua et novies centena milia in captivitate esse dispersa.*

<sup>31</sup> *In cuius destructione ut genus eorum deleretur, reliquos civitates et provincie Titus eunuchizari precepit. Quod infortunium cernentes que in Iudea erant mulieres Wandalos et Hunos, qui tunc forte Orientis regna invaserant, maritos acceperunt. Quapropter tempore ab illo non de Abraham sed de Wandalarum semine descendisse creduntur.*

<sup>32</sup> On fol. 166v Lambert gives a chronology of world events from Abraham entitled: *Chronica Orosii presbyteri Hispanensis*. Composed simply of annalistic entries, it reads like an index to Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos*. The much more fully developed historical section extending from fol. 121 to fol. 208 is for the most part taken directly from the seventh book of Orosius. Lambert expands the historical passage on the destruction of Jerusalem cited above to include Titus' use of war machines to break down the walls, the devastation of the Temple by fire, and the eventual triumphal entry of the Romans into the city. The two-sentence description of the ultimate fate of the Jews (note 31 *supra*: *Quod infortunium . . . descendisse creduntur*) is inserted between the destruction and the triumph. In his account of the numbers, Lambert also follows Orosius, as well as other medieval writers, in rounding off the number of captives from ninety-seven thousand to about ninety thousand.

<sup>33</sup> Among others, he depends on Eusebius, Marcellinus Comes, Jordanus, Isidore, and Freculphus for pre-seventh-century history. On the fidelity of classical texts in medieval hands, cf. Sanford, "The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages," (*supra*, note 8), 21ff. It is common to find medieval historians, including Lambert, tracing their own national genealogies as far back as the Trojans, as they had, after all, the excellent example of the Olympian ancestry of the Romans before their eyes. They do not tend to conflate a well-known historical event, such as the fall of Jerusalem, with the history of peoples who enter the mainstream of the Roman Empire at a much later date. The only connection, historically, which is known to me between the Jews and the Vandals is the fairly popular belief that the great treasures of the Temple, brought to Rome by Titus, were subsequently taken by Vandals to Egypt in the fifth century, after which they were lost to sight.

<sup>34</sup> The literature on the history and individual aspects of the *adversus Judaeos* tradition is extensive. The following have been most useful both for basic information and inclusion of bibliographic references: L. Dasberg, *Untersuchungen über die Entwertung des Judenstatus im 11. Jahrhundert*, Etudes juives, 11 (Paris, 1966); B. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der jüdisch-christlichen Beziehungen in den ersten Jahrhunderten* (Basel, 1946); *idem*, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430–1096*, Etudes juives, 2 (Paris, 1960); *idem*, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen-âge sur les juifs et le judaïsme*, Etudes juives, 4 (Paris, 1963); *idem*, "La polémique antijuive dans l'art chrétien du moyen-âge," *Archivio Muratoriano*, 77 (1965), 21–43; *idem*, *Juden und Judentum in der mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Stuttgart, 1965). Polemical responses on the part of Jews and their relations with both

If Lambert has not relied on standard historical sources for his information, two other areas of literary endeavor seem to have provided fruit for his fertile imagination. The first belongs to the field of the numerous tracts *adversus Judaeos* which underwent a transmogrification from theological speculation to inflammatory propaganda during the course of the Middle Ages. The second area is intimately involved with the events of the First Crusade in the sense of chronicles, letters, and descriptions of Jerusalem; unquestionably this material helped to shape Lambert's view of that enterprise in the context of successive kingdoms or stages in a world history which is universal in perspective.

To consider the development of the *adversus Judaeos* tracts first, nearly every Early Christian and Medieval writer wrestled with the knotty problem of what to do about the Israelites as God's chosen people. Basing themselves on the Pauline assurance, "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed" (Gal. 3:29) Christian authors from Justin Martyr (writing shortly after the Jewish wars of the first century) onward made a desperate attempt to wean the Jews away from the ancestry of Abraham.<sup>35</sup> Most prevalent among the arguments of the earlier writers is the concept of default through ignorance: i.e., the chosen did not have the sense to recognize the Chosen One.<sup>36</sup> Virtually all the patristic writings concentrate on the Jewish, rather than Roman, responsibility for the death of Christ, but in the seventh century Gregory still stubbornly clings to the belief in the final conversion of the Jews at the hour of the Last Judgment.<sup>37</sup> The measured considerations of Gregory are swiftly lost to sight in the face of the barbarian invasions of the seventh century, particularly in the case of Spanish writers, in whose country the political situation was exceptionally unstable. *Adversus Judaeos* tracts from this region reveal an increasing dependence upon the literary weapons of apocalyptic imagery, computational fantasy, and thinly disguised muckraking. Isidore of Seville connects the Jews

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Christianity and Islam are given in S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 8 vols. (New York, 1937-1958), esp. vols. I-VI. Cf. also the invaluable legendary material collected in L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols. (Philadelphia, 1913). For twelfth-century polemics in the context of scholastic thought, cf. J. de Ghellinck, *L'essor de la littérature latine au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1955), 158ff.

<sup>35</sup> Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, lxxx.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., St. Maximin, *Tractatus contra Judaeos*, PL, 57, col. 797f., and the *adversus Judaeos* tract, attached to the works of Augustine but by Quodvultdeus, in PL, 42, cols. 1101-38. Both authors are writing in the early fifth century and reflect ideas commonly expressed by Augustine in the *De civitate Dei*. They stress the nature of the Trinity and the accuracy of the Old Testament prophets in foretelling the advent of Christ as the Messiah. An attempt is also made to split the progeny of Abraham into two distinct units: the circumcised Jews descend from Ishmael (the forsaken) whilst the uncircumcised Christians descend from Isaac. In general, the rejection of the Jews by God as punishment for their failure to recognize His Son is a notion not only widespread in Early Christian polemics, but also occurring in Hebrew literature on the diaspora. Cf. Blumenkranz, *Die Judenpredigt Augustins*, 167ff., 175ff.; Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, II, 132f., 166f., and V, 108ff., 117ff., esp. 125ff.

<sup>37</sup> Gregory, *Moralia in Job* (cf. the passages cited in Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins du moyen-âge*, 73ff.). On the artistic representation of Jewish, rather than Roman, responsibility for the death of Christ, cf. W. Loerke, "The Miniatures of the Trial in the Rossano Gospels," *Art Bulletin*, 43 (1961), 171-95, and esp. 182f., on the green shoots as the legal transfer of Hebrew Priest-Kingship to Christ. The same idea is expressed throughout Lambert in the lists of Jewish kings and patriarchs immediately preceding Christ. A strong cancellation sign is used to mark Hyrcanus as the last "pope of the Jews" (e.g., fol. 18v) and both the ancestry of Herod and Hyrcanus are employed in the transfer of the scepter to Christ (e.g., fol. 139).

with a host of carnal desires,<sup>38</sup> Ildephonsus of Toledo, among others, envisions the anticipated Israelite Messiah as Antichrist,<sup>39</sup> and Julian of Toledo becomes perhaps the most important intellectual ancestor of Lambert by demonstrating the faulty mathematics of the Jews in calculating the advent of the Messiah according to the ages of the world.<sup>40</sup> The normally more dispassionate English writers of the period and those of Carolingian times continued to add fuel, particularly of an allegorical or exegetic nature, to what was already a healthy blaze. Upon the long familiar themes of the Jewish responsibility for the Crucifixion and their subsequent fall from grace because of it, their crimes individually and collectively against Christians, and what might be called their general civic unreliability is now overlaid a new insistence upon the satanic nature of the Jews and their kinship in this respect with other unenlightened and menacing groups such as the Saracens.<sup>41</sup> Rabanus Maurus, for instance, draws direct parallels between the Jews and all other enemies of the Church.<sup>42</sup> Other authors caught up in the barbarian invasions accuse local Jews of treason, while the more easily converted Goths are cast in a better light.<sup>43</sup> By the approach of the millennium a large body of literature already existed which consistently employed canonical, if a trifle warped, racial genealogies in order to explain away such contemporary phenomena as the Bodo-Eleazar conversion or that of the Khazars on the basis of unfavorable ancestry.<sup>44</sup> As the Goths are merged into the continuing history of the legitimate

<sup>38</sup> *Quaestiones adversus Iudeos et ceteros infideles*, in *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, eds. E. Martène and U. Durand (Paris, 1717), 5, 401–594, esp. 411–16; *idem*, *De fide catholica ex Vete et Novo Testamento contra Iudeos*, PL, 83, cols. 449–538, where both the dispersion of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem result from their crimes against Christ. The latter text is included by Lambert (fols. 242v–252 bisv).

<sup>39</sup> *De virginitate perpetua Sanctae Mariae*, PL, 96, cols. 53–102, esp. 68. Ildephonsus depends in large measure upon his teacher Isidore and his connection between Antichrist and the Jews is not a new invention in the polemical tradition. The bond between the Jews and Antichrist is made as early as Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses*, PG, 7, col. 1205. Cf. Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins*, 87ff., on the text of Ephraem Latinus, sometimes attributed to Isidore and dating prior to 628. Despite the early writings, there appears to be a distinct shift in the seventh century toward the relationship between Antichrist and the expected Messiah of the Jews. On Antichrist-Jewish relations in general, cf. W. Bouisset, *The Antichrist Legend, A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* (London, 1896); Dasberg, *Untersuchungen*, esp. 163ff.; N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1961); Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, V, esp. 111.

<sup>40</sup> *De comprobatione aetatis sextae*, PL, 96, cols. 537–86. Julian dedicates his tract to King Erwige and apparently writes in opposition to a number of Jewish treatises against Christianity then in local circulation. Mathematical computation by ages and their years is a concern common to most Hebrew writers attempting to fix the date of the Messiah's advent. Cf. the sources cited in Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, V, 344 note 48, 362ff. notes 19–23; A. Vasiliev, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: East and West," *Byzantion*, 16 (1942–43), esp. 475f.

<sup>41</sup> Contrast the milder attitude of Bede, for instance (*In Marci evang. exp.*, PL, 92, col. 245), who holds only a portion of the Jews responsible for the death of Christ, with that of pseudo-Alcuin (*Comm. in Apoc.*, III, PL, 100, cols. 1103–12), who describes the synagogue of Satan as frequented by Christian sinners, the latter to be equated with heretics, Jews, and pagans in general. That the Jews are more dangerous than heretics and are synonymous with the Saracens, cf. Agobard, *De Judaicis superstitionibus*, PL, 104, cols. 94–95, addressed to Louis the Pious in 826–27.

<sup>42</sup> *Comm. in lib. Machab.*, PL, 109, col. 1187; *Comment. in lib. Iudicum*, PL, 108, col. 1171. Cf., on Rabanus in particular, M. Schlauch, "The Allegory of the Church and the Synagogue," *Speculum*, 14 (1939), 454.

<sup>43</sup> E.g., Paulus Alvarus, *Epist.*, 20, PL, 121, col. 513f.

<sup>44</sup> On the Bodo-Eleazar conversion, cf. the texts assembled in Blumenkranz, *Les auteurs chrétiens latins*, 184ff. The charge that Bodo-Eleazar inflamed the Saracens against the Christians was available to Lambert through the transcription of the Spanish petition to Charles the Bald in the *Annales*

Roman Empire, the Huns, Vandals, Jews, and Saracens are all grouped together on the dark and unredeemable side of heresy.<sup>45</sup>

Since Lambert was not only obviously familiar with antisemitic polemics from Augustine to the millennium but felt their contents sufficiently important to include several *adversus Judaeos* tracts in the *Liber Floridus* itself, it is unnecessary to cite further examples of a similar attitude found in authors writing in the century immediately preceding his own.<sup>46</sup> What is most important about the eleventh-century writings as a whole is that the predominant attitude expressed in a cascade of such treatises links the Jews with both the Islamic threat and the advent of Antichrist. Moreover, the Jewish question, previously limited to the sphere of theological debate, inevitably was dragged into the literature surrounding the calling of the First Crusade towards the end of the century.<sup>47</sup> It is within this second semi-historical area, composed of both crusader chronicles and political propaganda, that Lambert found the catalyst necessary for his complete fusion of theological symbolism and historical fact.

The basis for Lambert's desire to stress the connections between the reconquest of Jerusalem in the First Crusade with both the destruction of the city under Titus and the Second Coming of Christ is embodied in the history of Jerusalem itself. According to Josephus, the victory of Titus in A.D. 70 con-

Bertiani: PL, 115, col. 1400, and C. Dehaisnes, *Les annales de Saint-Bertin et de Saint-Vaast*, Société de l'Histoire de France, 158 (Paris, 1871), 65. On the Khazar question, cf. D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), and the strange account of Christian of Stavelot (*Expos. in Matth.*, 56, PL, 106, col. 1456) to the effect that, despite a common Hunnish ancestry, the Bulgarians were converted to Christianity whilst the Khazars, also descendants of the race of Gog and Magog, became Jews. For the identification of the Jews with Gog and Magog and the common association between these peoples and Antichrist in the Middle Ages (also reflected in Lambert's persistent inclusion of Jewish genealogies descending from Gog and Magog), cf. A. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), esp. 58ff.

<sup>45</sup> Among others, Adso, *Libellus de Antichristo*, PL, 101, cols. 1292f. and 1296; Heriger of Lobbes, *Gesta episc. Leod.*, 17, PL, 139, col. 1022, where the Huns are described as honoring themselves by a mythical descent from the Jews! The racial superiority of the Goths as converted Christians, as well as in regard to a variety of other virtues, was known to Lambert in the Chronicles of Jordanus (*Jordanis Romana et Getica*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimis*, VI [Berlin, 1882]), transcribed by Lambert, and in Isidore of Seville (*Historia de regibus Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*, ed. Th. Mommsen, MGH, AA, XI [Berlin, 1894], 241–303).

<sup>46</sup> The most important of these in anticipating the feelings aroused at the time of the First Crusade is Raoul Glaber, *Historia*, III, PL, 142, col. 657ff. Although he credits, as he must, El-Hakem with the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009, he casts his gravest suspicions on Jewish involvement in the Islamic reprisals. The *adversus Judaeos* tracts contained in the *Liber Floridus* give a good indication of what Lambert thought of the present state of the question. In addition to the tracts of Isidore of Seville and Rabanus Maurus (the gathering containing the latter is now lost), the *Liber Floridus* virtually opens with the best of contemporary *adversus Judaeos* literature. In the recently popular format of a Christian-Jewish debate, Lambert transcribes Odo bishop of Cambrai's *Disputatio contra Judaeum Leonem* on fol. 5 and follows it up with Gilbert Crispin abbot of Westminster's *Disputatio contra Judaeum* on fol. 10. The precise relationship between the latter's work and the *Cur deus homo* of Anselm of Canterbury (cf. R. Roques, *Anselme de Cantorbéry. Pourquoi Dieu s'est fait homme* [Paris, 1963]) is a matter of debate. However, the treatise of Anselm, dedicated to Urban II in 1098, was the ultimate response to the unbelievers and Lambert includes the *Cur deus homo* (actually, the *Libellus de cur deus homo*, not composed until after 1107) in the section between fols. 144v–152v.

<sup>47</sup> On anti-Semitism and the First Crusade: Dasberg, *Untersuchungen*, 143ff.; C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart, 1935); *idem*, "Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 51 (1932), 384–414; P. Alphandéry, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade*, I. *Les premières Croisades* (Paris, 1954), 43ff., 73ff.; Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, esp. chapters II and III with previous literature.

stituted the sixth devastation of the city.<sup>48</sup> The first in the series of Jerusalem's trials occurred under Nebuchadnezzar, who led the line of David in bondage into Babylon.<sup>49</sup> The symbolism which was attached to the successive phases of Jerusalem's history is abundantly clear in the writings of the Middle Ages. According to Isidore of Seville, Bede, and Rabanus Maurus in particular, Jerusalem would suffer seven wars, symbolic of the seven afflictions of the Church.<sup>50</sup> The final, or seventh, battle was reserved for the future and would take place between Christians and the legions of Antichrist. Only when the Christians had regained the city and defeated Antichrist would Christ return to Jerusalem in the Second Coming.<sup>51</sup>

That the First Crusade was enveloped in apocalyptic symbolism is well known from contemporary chronicles. Among many others, Peter the Hermit preached that the crusaders were to encounter the armies of Antichrist and the thin line of distinction between the real Jerusalem and the New Jerusalem of Revelation became understandably clouded in the minds of his listeners.<sup>52</sup> Speculation as to the nature of the present inhabitants of the city and their potential for salvation was rife, and crusaders were repeatedly warned not to

<sup>48</sup> *De bello Judaico*, VI, 435 ff.

<sup>49</sup> The chronology is slightly confusing: according to Josephus (*loc. cit.*) Jerusalem was plundered by Asochaeus, Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey, and Sossius together with Herod. However, Nebuchadnezzar was the first to demolish it utterly and lead its people into bondage in 587 B.C. Titus was the second. The result is a series of six calamities with Nebuchadnezzar's and Titus' forming the first and last total devastations.

<sup>50</sup> For the patristic, pilgrim, and Antichrist legends regarding Jerusalem based on Josephus, cf. Bredero, "Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval," 259 ff.; Rabanus Maurus, *Expositio sup. Jeremiam*, PL, 111, cols. 1247-62.

<sup>51</sup> Bredero, *op. cit.*, esp. 268 f. All of the medieval texts, patristic and encyclopedic, are based on the prophecies of Daniel. Two classes of texts are outstanding in this respect for their effect on medieval thinking in terms of the succession of empires and the coming of Antichrist. The first class is composed of the medieval Sybilline texts, originally based on Jewish apocrypha designed to convert pagans to Judaism. The Christian Sybilline books were conceived for the same proselytizing purposes but became increasingly involved with the eschatological significance of living (or recently deceased) medieval emperors. The second group of texts is involved directly with prophecies of the advent of Antichrist. The predictions of Pseudo-Methodius, originally conceived to bring hope to the seventh-century Syrian Christians under Moslem rule, depends heavily upon the Sybilline texts and, like them, prophesies a universal succession of empires, moving from East to West, from Adam in Paradise to Rome and with a reverse trend in the last days, when the final emperor of Rome shall lay his crown and scepter on Golgotha in anticipation of Christ. By the eighth century Pseudo-Methodius had gained considerable popularity in the West and was translated into Latin in Paris. The Latin version was subsequently recombined with Sybilline texts by Adso in the *Libellus de Antichristo*, composed at the request of Queen Gerberga in the mid-tenth century. The fundamental study of the texts remains E. Sackur, *Sybillinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudo-Methodius, Adso und die tiburtinische Sibylle* (Halle, 1898); cf. the later bibliography and comments assembled by Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 15 ff. Lambert was as deeply influenced by the Sibylline and Antichrist texts as were his contemporaries. He reproduces a Sibylline oracle on fol. 56 (which itself is identical to that reproduced by Quodvultdeus in his *adversus Judaeos* tract cited *supra*, note 36), and on fol. 108v-110 he includes the *Epistola Methodii de Antichristo*. The information which he sets down there in reference to the birth, life, and destiny of Antichrist refutes the statements made by Poesch ("The Beasts from Job in the *Liber Floridus* Manuscripts," *JWarb*, 33 [1970], 41-51) on the lack of a Pseudo-Methodius or Adso basis for his illustration of the Antichrist on the Leviathan, appearing on fol. 62v. Whereas Poesch states that Lambert places the birth of Antichrist in Corazim, rather than in Babylon (*op. cit.*, 45 note 17), he quite clearly writes that Antichrist in *Babylonia n a s c e t u r et in civitate Bethsaida et Corazim n u t r i e t u r* (emphasis mine). What is even more important for Lambert's thinking in regard to the First Crusade is the fact that the Antichrist text immediately precedes the *Gesta Francorum* chronicle of the Crusade beginning on fol. 110v.

<sup>52</sup> Alphandéry, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade*, I, 57ff.; Setton and Baldwin, *A History of the Crusades*, I, 258ff. Cf. also H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* (Leipzig, 1879).

anticipate the survival of Christians in the area at all.<sup>53</sup> As far as the resident Jews were concerned, they were either lumped together with the followers of Islam as perfidious *haeretici* or were singled out for special condemnation.<sup>54</sup> Some measure of the crusading zeal against the Jews can be documented by the appalling massacres which took place in the Jewish sections of many German towns after the appeal of Urban at Clermont in 1095.<sup>55</sup> Both the German massacres and the subsequent devastation of the Jewish population in Jerusalem after its capture in 1099 are in large measure the outcome of the whole *adversus Judaeos* tradition, exacerbated by the apocalyptic message of the First Crusade.<sup>56</sup>

That Lambert was conscious of the apocalyptic significance of the First Crusade as well as the position of contemporary Jews within that context on both symbolic and factual levels is borne out by the contents of the *Liber Floridus* itself, quite apart from the representations of allegorical trees. Not only does Lambert include contemporary anti-Semitic polemics in his book; he also transcribes Urban's speech,<sup>57</sup> crusader chronicles with their emphasis upon the astronomical phenomena, miracles, and elements of rational science all suggesting that the final day was close at hand,<sup>58</sup> and a wealth of material concerned partly with empires and their destruction, and partly with paradisiac visions of particular emperors.<sup>59</sup> He subscribes unhesitatingly to the prevailing crusader opinion that, following the natural course of the sun, successive historical empires are seen to flow from east to west until the Franks, as the ultimate

<sup>53</sup> For instance, Guibert of Nogent's account, for which cf. A. Krey, *The First Crusade* (Princeton, 1921), 38f.; Bredero, "Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval," 268.

<sup>54</sup> Dasberg, *Untersuchungen*, 180ff.; H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, III (Philadelphia, 1894), 297ff.; Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, esp. 58, 385 note 60.

<sup>55</sup> Cohn, *op. cit.*, 56ff.; as Cohn points out, the messianic fervor had reached such a pitch that not only was the Messiah image projected onto such men as Godfrey of Bouillon and Raymond of Toulouse, but even Count Emmerich, responsible for much of the German massacres, was preserved in local legend as the king-to-return long after his death in 1117.

<sup>56</sup> On the destruction of the Jewish population in Jerusalem, cf. Setton and Baldwin, *op. cit.*, 337, and the Muslim chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānī, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1932), 48.

<sup>57</sup> Fol. 110v, included at the beginning of the crusader chronicle.

<sup>58</sup> Fol. 128; at the end of the crusader chronicle Lambert sets down a variety of astronomic and geologic phenomena which accompanied the march to the Holy Land and the capture of its various cities. Perhaps the most famous of these was the incident of the Holy Lance found at Antioch which Lambert uses to form the conclusion of the historical account. Once again, he moves from the realm of prophetic speculation (the Antichrist legends) to history (the crusader chronicle) and ends with a vision sent by God, on this occasion backed up by the recovery of a sacred object.

<sup>59</sup> Quite apart from the section devoted to the crusader chronicle, Lambert liberally sprinkles the whole of the *Liber Floridus* with references to it, both in factual terms (such as the entry of Urban's speech in more abbreviated forms in virtually every annal in the encyclopedia) and in eschatological references to astrogeophysic phenomena occurring before actual events and to be anticipated prior to the advent of Antichrist. The vision of Charlemagne, revived and accompanying the crusaders on their march eastward, was a theme popular in crusader literature (Alphandéry, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de Croisade*, I, 131ff.). Lambert includes a number of visions of particular emperors which involve the notion of the end of the world. Alexander's voyage to Paradise and his encounter with the mystical trees of the sun and the moon appear in the long romance of Alexander (fols. 156–162), whilst that of Charles the Bald forms the conclusion to the entire history of the Roman Empire occupying fols. 191–208. The importance given to Charles the Bald, rather than Charlemagne, brings one back into Lambert's geographic sphere, for it was that Emperor who was directly involved in the preservation and protection of St. Omer at the end of the ninth century (cf. A. Giry, *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Omer* [Paris, 1877], 16).

inheritors of the universal Roman Empire, should return to the Holy City, restore it to Christianity, and, after the final conquest of Antichrist, lay their crown and scepter on the Mount of Olives in preparation for the Second Coming.<sup>60</sup>

It is almost unnecessary to acknowledge that Lambert is unique in representing the confrontation of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* in the final enactment of human history on the Mount of Olives rather than at the time of the Crucifixion at Golgotha (fig. 5).<sup>61</sup> The seven wars of Jerusalem, beginning with the city's destruction under Nebuchadnezzar and ending with the anticipated battle of the Apocalypse, is a theme which runs throughout the whole of the *Liber Floridus*. It also forms the basis of the tripartite nature of chapter LX, where the Norman genealogy, traced back to the Gothic kings, endows the Crusaders under the palm with both historical continuity and legitimacy. At the same time, the specific nature of Jerusalem as that of the sixth age of the world is documented by the geographic and chronological location of the *Arbor Palmarum*.<sup>62</sup> Finally, the virtues are included to fortify that city's Christian occupants against the ever-present dangers of a kingdom facing an approaching apocalyptic encounter.

The *Arbor Palmarum* is not an isolated case of integrated, multi-level thinking on Lambert's part. In order to demonstrate the consistency of his approach, two other closely knit chapters involving allegorical plants and trees require examination. These chapters, CLX and CLXII respectively, both broaden the base of Lambert's conception of his own times and bring his characteristic fusion of history—past, present, and future—to its inevitable conclusion in the Kingdom of God.

The three major illustrations to be discussed are grouped in a section between folios 230 and 232v. Chapter CLX begins on folio 230 and is entitled *De adventu Domini in die iudicii*. It ends on the verso of that folio with a monumental representation of the *Lilium inter Spinas* which is combined with an historical genealogy. Folio 231 contains a single-page chapter of text entitled *De VII mirabilibus mundi*. Chapter CLXII covers folios 231v to 232v; divided into two parts, as in the case of the *Lilium*, it opens with the double illustration of the *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala*, and concludes on the verso of folio 232 with the representation of the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar.

<sup>60</sup> M. D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West*, select., ed., and trans. J. Taylor and L. K. Little (Chicago, 1968), 182ff. and esp. 186f.

<sup>61</sup> On the normal representation of the Church and Synagogue, cf. W. Seiffert, *Synagoge und Kirche im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1964), 63ff., 71ff. The representation of the Church welcoming Christ on the Mount of Olives is, again, not a self-sufficient image in the sense that it is combined with a series of genealogies with historical and theological texts. It forms the conclusion to the chapter devoted to Isidore's *adversus Judaeos* tract, includes the genealogy of Christ beneath the illustration proper, and on the verso of folio 253 ends with a tabulation of the six ages of the world from the age of Adam to that of Christ.

<sup>62</sup> It is doubtful that Lambert was aware of one of the acts of Titus after the conquest of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, but the *Arbor Palmarum* presents a curious visual and historical parallel across the span of a millennium. Upon Titus' triumph, Rome issued commemorative coinage which represented Jerusalem by a large palm, with a woman mourning at the base of the tree. Bearing the inscription *Judea Capta*, the coinage was a flagrant appropriation of the Hebrew coinage of Jerusalem which used the palm as a national symbol. For the various coin types, cf. F. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage* (New York, 1864), 183ff.

## LYLIUM INTER SPINAS (Fig. 6)

In all respects the *Lylium* (*sic*) is the pictorial, textual, and symbolic parallel to the *Arbor Palmarum*.<sup>63</sup> As in the case of the palm, the lily is part of a chapter which does not seem to require its presence; it is also combined with an extensive moral cycle and associated with a genealogical list. The only text referring directly to the image of the lily occurs at the top of folio 230v. It reads: *Sicut lilyum inter spinas sic amica mea inter filias* and is the familiar passage from the Song of Solomon (Cant. 2:2). While this verse had been interpreted by medieval commentators as symbolic of Christ among his tormentors<sup>64</sup> or, quite appropriately, as an evocation of the Virgin as the *sponsa* of Christ,<sup>65</sup> it is again the specific connections between the lily and the Church symbolic which is most significant for an understanding of Lambert's image. Bede associates the flower with virtue as the *flos virtutum*, the font of all spiritual fruit.<sup>66</sup> When the *Lily* is *inter spinas*, however, it signifies *Ecclesia* among the *spicula perfidorum*.<sup>67</sup> Among others, both Rabanus Maurus and Honorius of Autun attach place names to the thorns themselves. For Rabanus, the *spinæ* represent those leftover heresies and vices occupying *Jerusalem destruc-ta*.<sup>68</sup> Honorius of Autun, a contemporary of Lambert, goes somewhat further. He equates the lily with *Ecclesia perfectorum* which flowers in faith (... *floridus in fidelibus*) while the *Lily inter Spinæ* symbolizes the Church among the race of the daughters of Babylon, the authors of confusion and heresy.<sup>69</sup> Since Babylon was initially responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem, both Rabanus Maurus and Honorius, although separated by more than two centuries, essentially think in the same terms. Our encyclopedists further tell us that after Jerusalem was first laid waste, only a few destitute farmers remained to scratch away at the *spinæ*, cultivating the trials of vice.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Behling, "Ecclesia als Arbor Bona," 140–43; *idem*, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, 44. In both article and book, Behling reproduces the illustration in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript.

<sup>64</sup> E.g., Bede, *In Cantica Canticorum allegorica expositio*, II, ii, PL, 91, col. 1101f.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, and Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL, 111, col. 528. Rabanus does not rely totally on the standard *sponsa* imagery, which influences all medieval commentators on the *Cantica*, but applies the virtue of *castitas* to the lily which by nature of the meaning of virginity must allude to the Virgin. When *inter spinas*, she is a lady in grave difficulties.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.*, col. 1101: Bede also forms an inverted parallel to Gregory's interpretation of the palm in discussing the *lily convallium*. It is an image of the Church but its placement is as deep as a mountain is high, so that the power of the Church expands ever outward.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, col. 1102D, with the additional comment that the lily must rise upward toward a contemplation of *divina claritas*.

<sup>68</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL, 111, col. 338A.

<sup>69</sup> *Expos. in Cant. Canticorum*, PL, 172, col. 347ff., esp. 382D and 383. Honorius is really drawing a comparison between Jerusalem, the faithful, and Babylon, land of the unbelievers. As was true of Bede (*loc. cit.*), the contrast between the lily and the thorns is as that between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*.

<sup>70</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *loc. cit.*: *et muros Hierusalem in circuitu destruxit, ... populumque in captivitate dicens, de pauperibus terrae reliquit vinitores et agricolas, qui eos, qui utiles verbo et exemplo esse poterant, per vitia captivans, stultis et hebetibus commendat agris culturam, quatenus non vinum gratiae spiritalis et frumentum sanae doctrinae in vineis et agris populorum fructificet, sed spinae magis et tribuli vitiorum excrescant.* Cf. also Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, VI, 390f., 398, for legends of the Jews concerning Babylon's destruction of Jerusalem and the refusal of the land to produce during the captivity. As Ginzberg notes, many of these legends are an admixture of the devastation of Jerusalem under Titus with earlier accounts of the first exile.

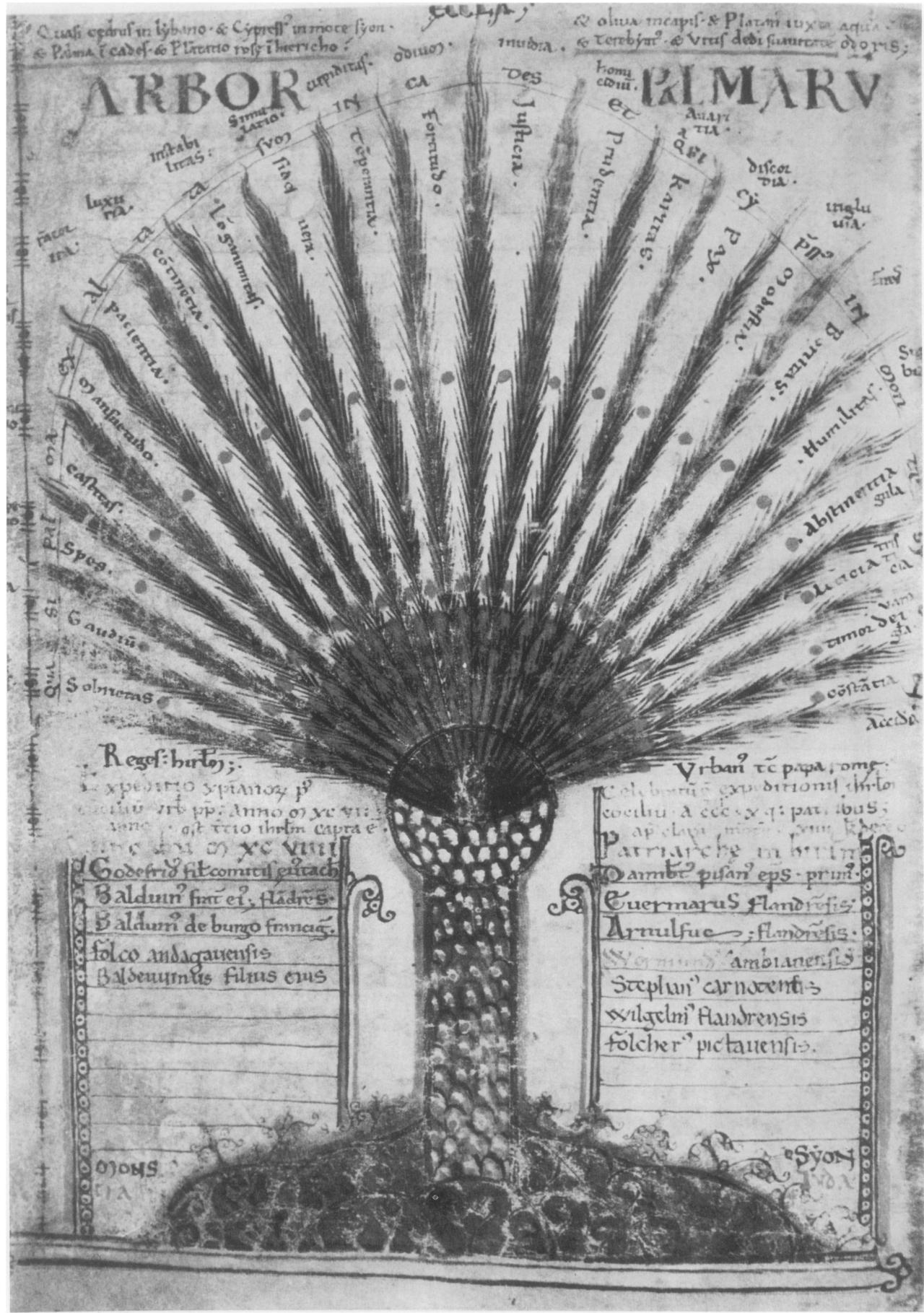
# GENEALOGIA COMITIV

## NORMANNORVM ORIGIN

**A**NNO dñi ex incarnationis octingentesimo nonad gesimo sexto regnante francoz rege karolo q̄ sim plex appellat̄ est p̄yrat̄ danoz ex insula scania que northuiuega dicit̄ ḡgressi. cū in francia multa gestissent plia regnūq; deuastassent karol p̄dict̄ eoz acceptis obsidib; eis neustria t̄didit. q; ab ipso t̄p̄ uocauit̄ northmāniā; eoqd ab ipsis q; ex northuiuega uenerant possella erat; Rodb̄t̄ igit̄ rollo dicit̄. eoz primi erat dux. comesq; northmāniā; Rodb̄t̄ iste genuit willēlmū q; longa spata cognomē nat̄ est. quē franci dolo occiderē; Willēlmū autē lōga spata. genuit Ricardū senē; hic genuit filiā nōc emmā. de q; nat̄ ē eduard̄ rex anglorū. Ricardū autē senex. genū Ricardū secū; Ricardū ū secū. genuit Ricardū tēnū & Rodb̄tū; Ricardū aut̄ genū nōc olaū sc̄i audōēni ablat̄; Rodb̄t̄ ū genū Willēlmū nothū. q; p̄ morte eduardi transiit̄ in anglia. anno dñi millesimo sexagesimo quinto. regnūq; optimū iure hereditario. q; a eī attānus ricardū senex fecerat. cui emmā filia eduardū regē generat; Willēlmū iste nothū. tres filios habuit. Rodb̄tū uidelicet & Willēlmū rufū etq; henricū. ex matildā filia baldūm comitis flādrie q; sepult̄ ē apud insulam opidū; Willēlmū nothū d̄fūndō Willēlmū rufū eī filiu. rex crearē. & Rodb̄t̄ comes northmāniā; Willēlmū qq; inf̄ cū eō in silva uenandi q; qdā eī mīle dū sagittā ceruī apparet̄. p̄ cerio regē occidat; Q; in imperfecto Rodb̄t̄ regis tr̄ q; successore eī eō debuit tē eīt h̄ierosolimā. h̄ericū fr̄ eī & homo iniuste regū eī trāuasit. h̄ic odib; autē urbe capt̄ regresso. henricū mare transiit̄ s̄im ex anglorū & dolo cepit cap̄ tuq; transiit̄ in anglia. & neūmāniā. cū argho optimūt; hic accipit̄ filiū malcolūm regis scottorū nōc matildā. quā ex angarerā p̄p̄terū nepis eūndi regis anglorū q; fuit rex ante Willēlmū nothū. De qui uidelicet matilda p̄dict̄ rex henricū Willēlmū & matilda genuit. quā imperator henrico ūmori dedit anno dñi 1066. anno ūdū oīc. xx du Willēlmū enōmānia. matilda transiit̄ in illa parte ūmōri. & rebilū paucis dies postulauit̄ p̄. ut Willēlmū.

Rego  
gothi  
Gōde  
vñiam  
dāna  
dāril  
Sigeñ  
theud  
toris  
cori  
Eud  
alani  
amali  
charia  
cholu  
thru  
throg  
asyl  
Gagan  
Syl  
Civash  
Horn  
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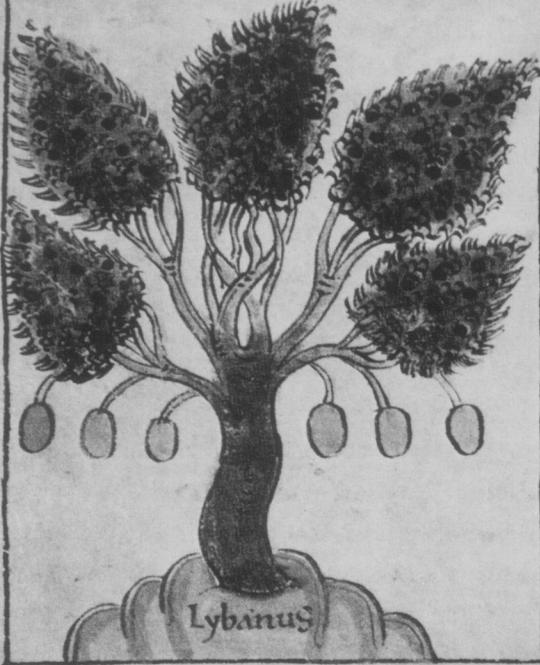
Rot  
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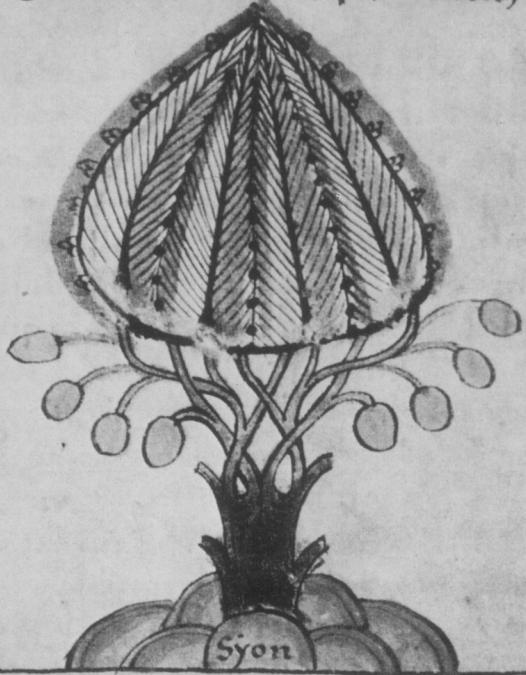
2. Fol. 76v. *Arbor Palmarum*

## ARBORES SIGNIFICANTES

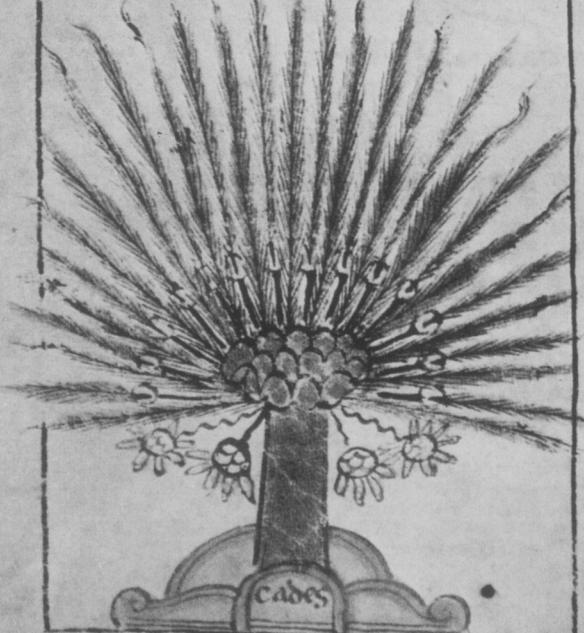
Vox eccl<sup>e</sup>. Quasi cedros exaltata su in lybano humiliata p quā Beati pauperes spū. Beatitudo uirtusq; prima;



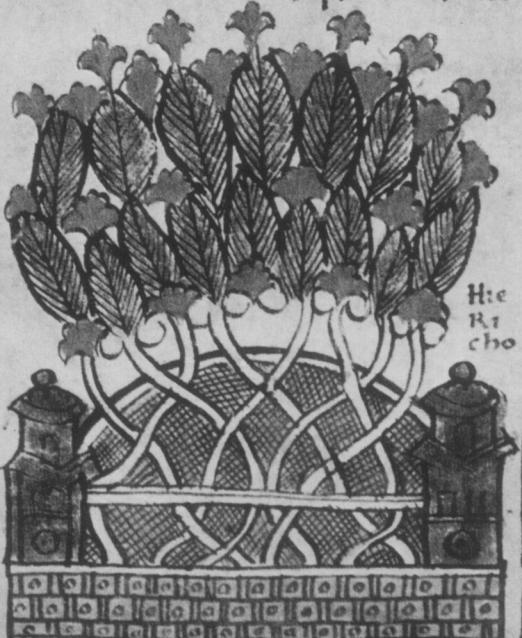
Vox eccl<sup>e</sup> Quasi cypress in monte syon. Pietate, per quam Beati mites qm ipsi possid. Beatitudo uirtusq; secunda;



Vox eccl<sup>e</sup> Quasi palma exaltata su in eades. Scientia p quā Beati qui lugent; qd consolat. Beatitudo uirtusq; tertia;

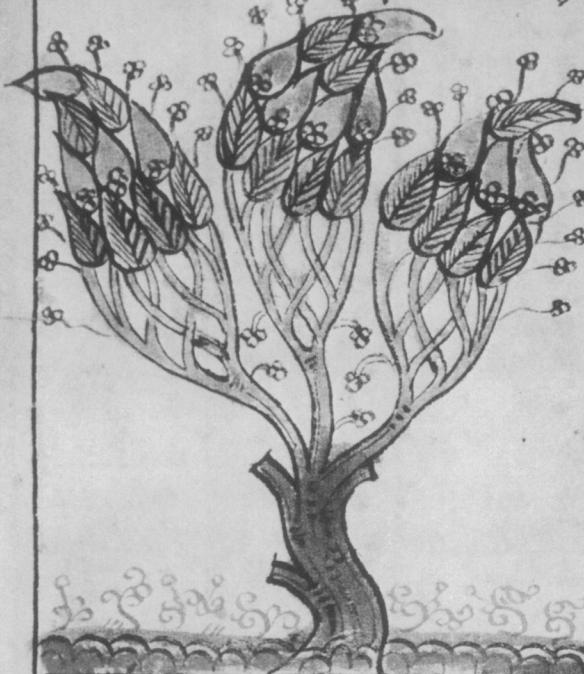


Vox eccl<sup>e</sup> Quasi plātatio rose in hiericho. Fortitudine p quā Beati q esurunt & sitiunt iusticia. Beatitudo uirtusq; Quartā

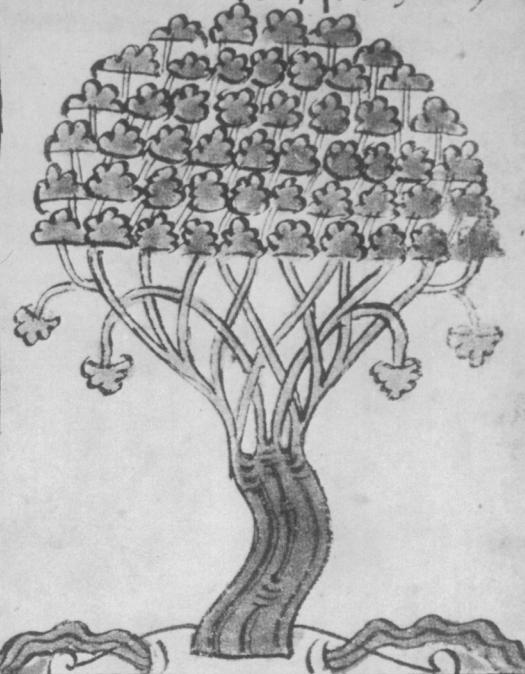


# BEATITUDINUM ORDINES;

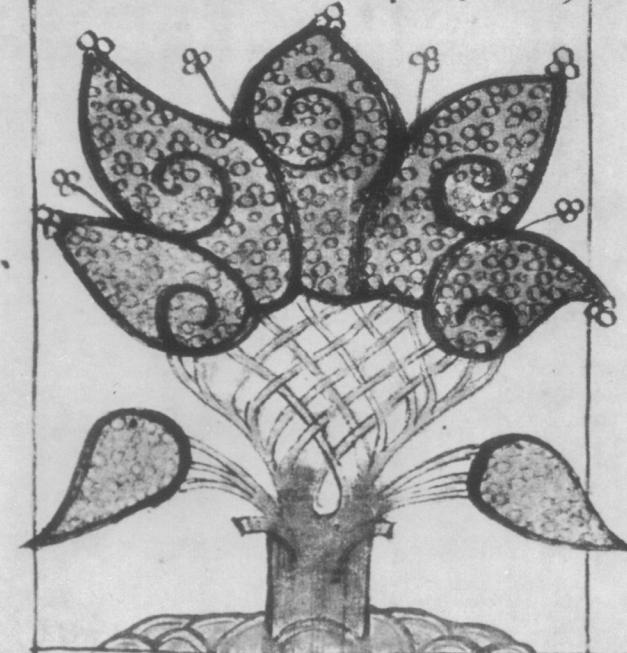
Vox eccl<sup>e</sup> Quasi oliua speciosa  
in campis. Consilio per quod  
Beati misericordes qm̄ misericordia  
Beatitudo uirtusq; Quinta;



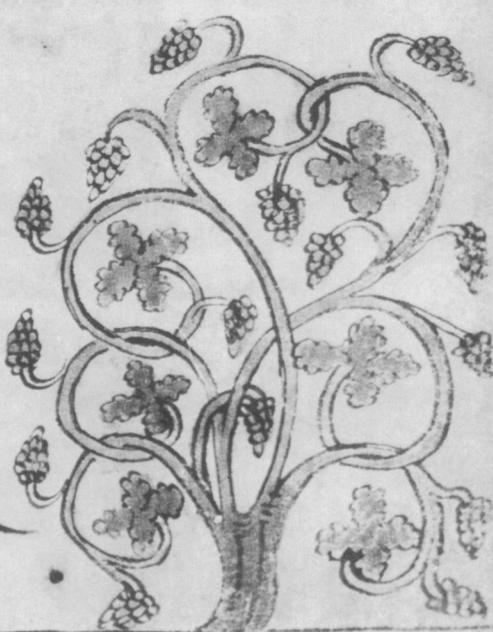
Vox Quasi platan<sup>o</sup> exaltata su  
iuxta aqua. Intelligētia. p qua  
Beati mundo corde qm̄ dñū  
Beatitudo uirtusq; Sexta;



Vox eccl<sup>e</sup> Quasi terebin<sup>t</sup> ex  
tedi ramos meos. Sapientia p  
qua Beati pacifici. qm̄ filii dī  
Beatitudo uirtusq; septima;



Vox Quasi uitis fructificans sua  
uitate odoris. pfectione p quam  
Beati q̄ psecutionē patiuntur.  
Beatitudo uirtusq; octaua;

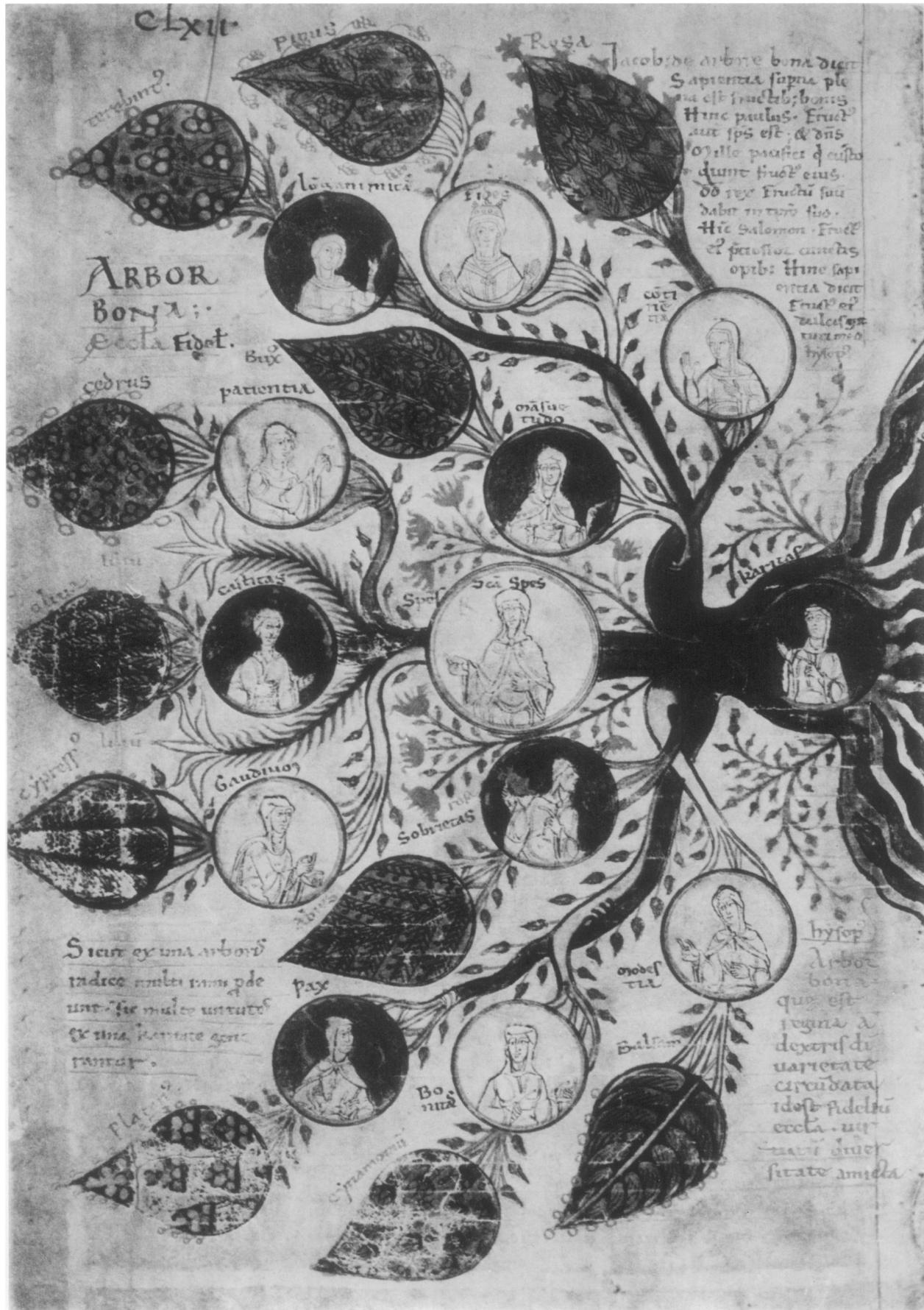




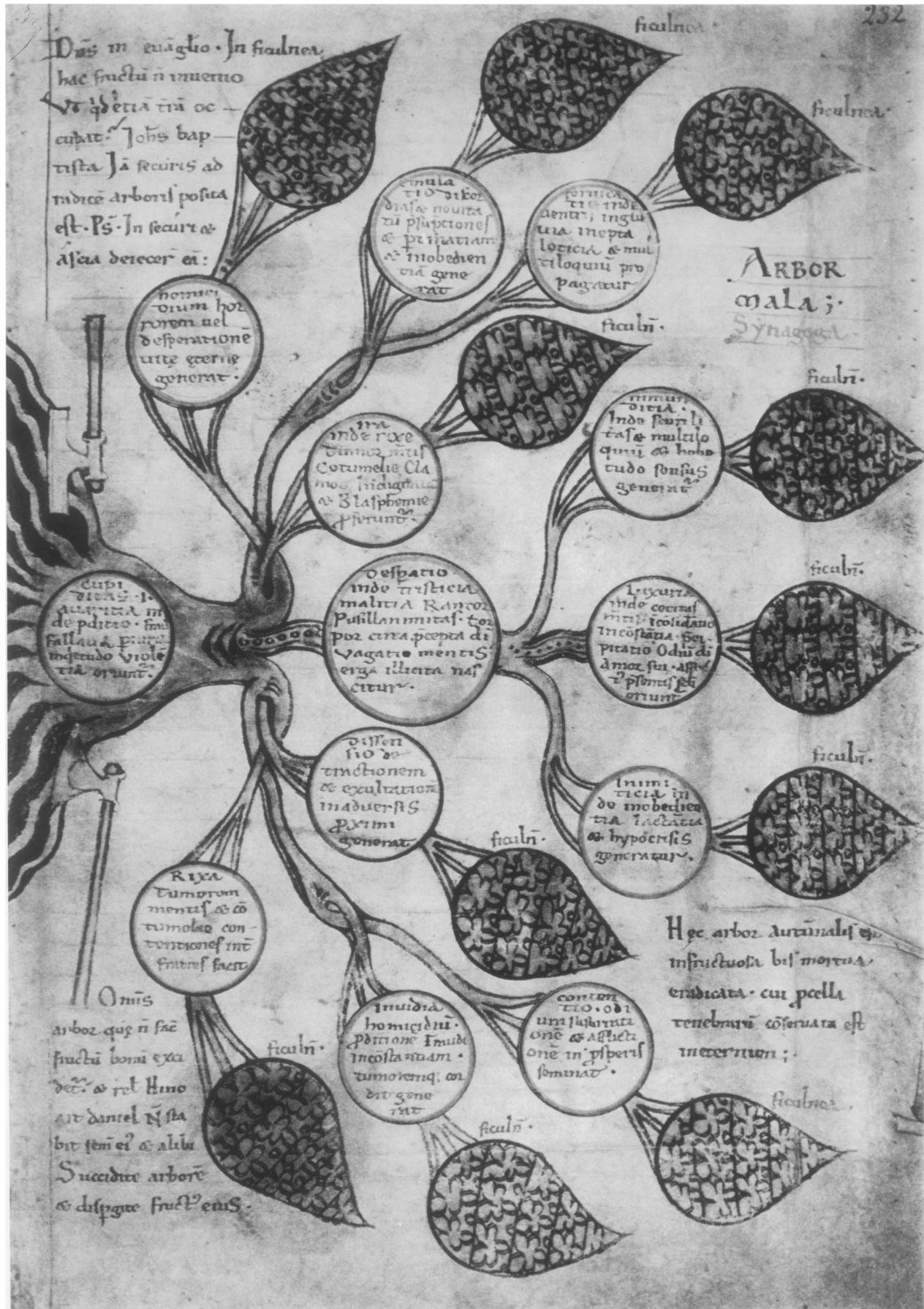
5. Fol. 253. Christ on Mount of Olives

Morinox epi.  
 Audmundus  
 Athalbertus  
 Arbovarus  
 Draucius  
 Batus  
 Ruangerus  
 Eikenbodo  
 Adalgerus  
 Gumbercus  
 Etharius.  
 Rodewaldus  
 Athalofus.  
 Wiefidus  
 Teduimus.  
 Folquimus  
 Grimbaldus  
 Hunsidus  
 Actardus  
 Athalbertus.  
 Herlandus  
 Stephanus.  
 Wiefidus.  
 Davd  
 Fiamericus  
 Baldunus  
 Doro  
 Hubertus  
 Gerardus  
 Johanne

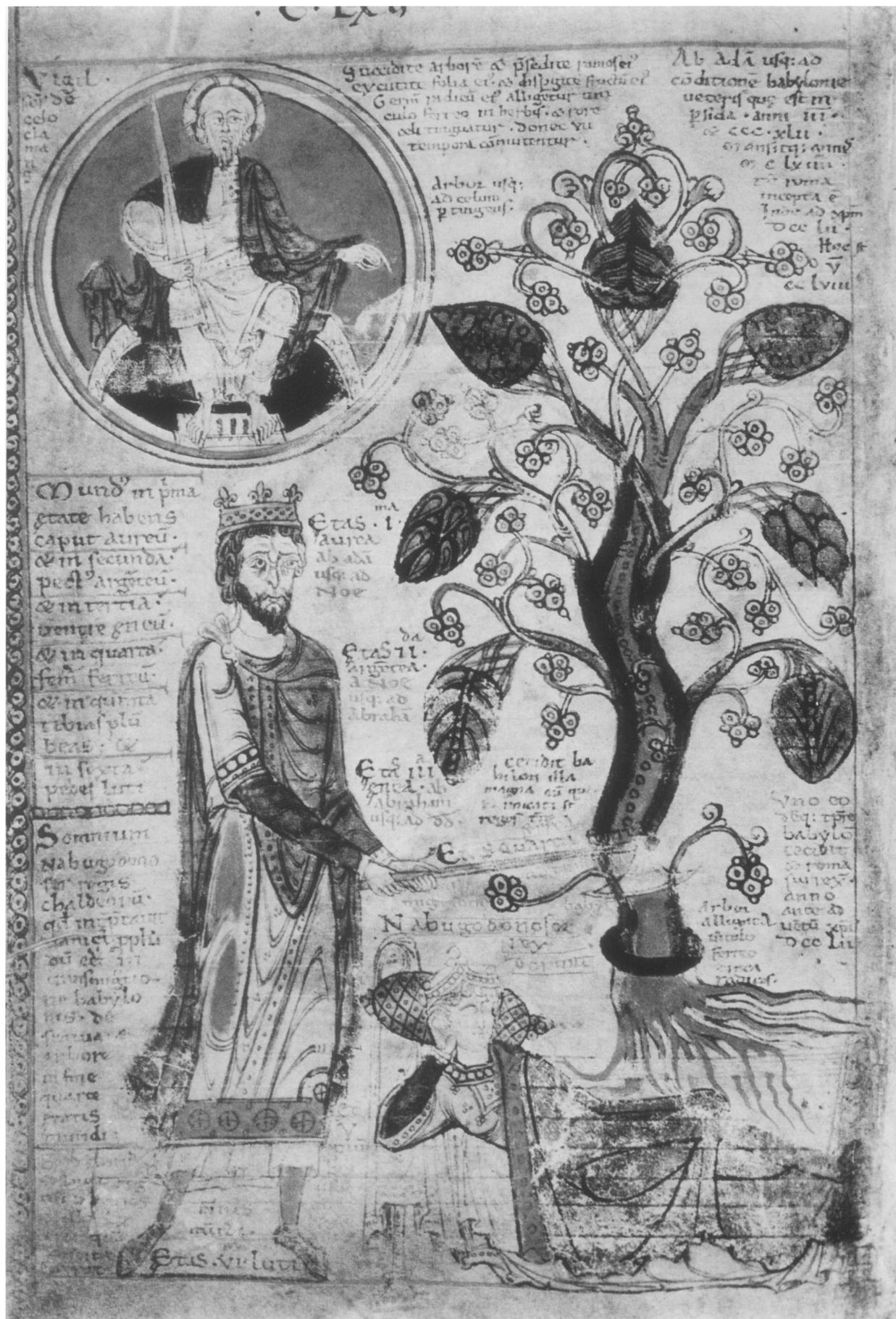




7. Fol. 231v. *Arbor Bona*



8. Fol. 232. Arbor Mala



9. Fol. 232v. Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar



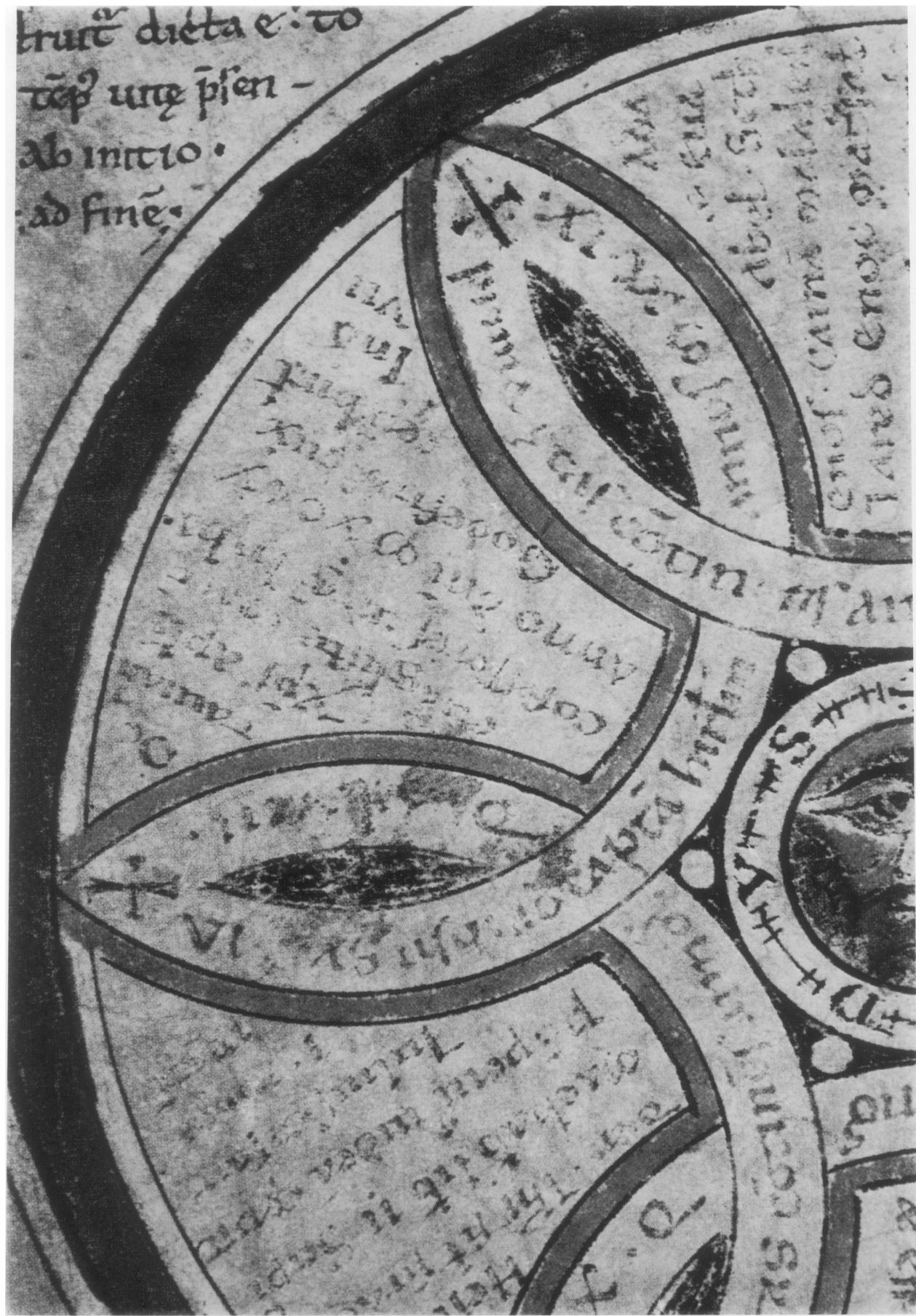
10. Fol. 62v. Antichrist on the Leviathan

subiungunt. Exinde reuerſus in gallia. ite menapos; trib; agminib; mudi-  
dit. eozq; pdas in arduenna silva recōditas diripiuit & militib; distribuit;  
Ab orbe enī cōdito. usq; ad iuliv dū uicit britāniā. anni quinq; inua-  
ducenti <sup>xv</sup> cōputant. & ante xpī nativitatē. anno <sup>mo</sup> xl. <sup>mo</sup> vii. regnū genteq;  
obtinuit; Post hec cū triumpho romā reuers⁹. & senatu cū honore exci-  
pit; deinde regia orientis. & overidiani ac Septētrioris. occidentisq;  
piuicias. insul̄asq; p̄ tres viros prudentissimos cōfidelic⁹ Nicodoxum &  
pollyclitōne atq; theodotū metū p̄cepit. Anno autē cōsulat⁹ sui <sup>mo</sup> x. singu-  
lare p̄m̄ romanorū sūp̄sit imp̄iū: & p̄ anno sexto cōpleto. idib; martii.  
A h̄ senatorib; incūria occiditur; Quo m̄fecto. Octavian⁹ augustus  
de q̄ virgilii. nocte pluit tota redeunt spectacula mane. diuisu imperiū  
cū ioue cesar habet. imperiū adept⁹ est. Hie ei exiit r̄jūndi cui-  
de marmore porphyrītico p̄curia. a cōlūp̄ in labro fneō deaurato  
emeres et̄ cōposuit. & serp̄sit titula. Diui iulii cesaris sacruos.

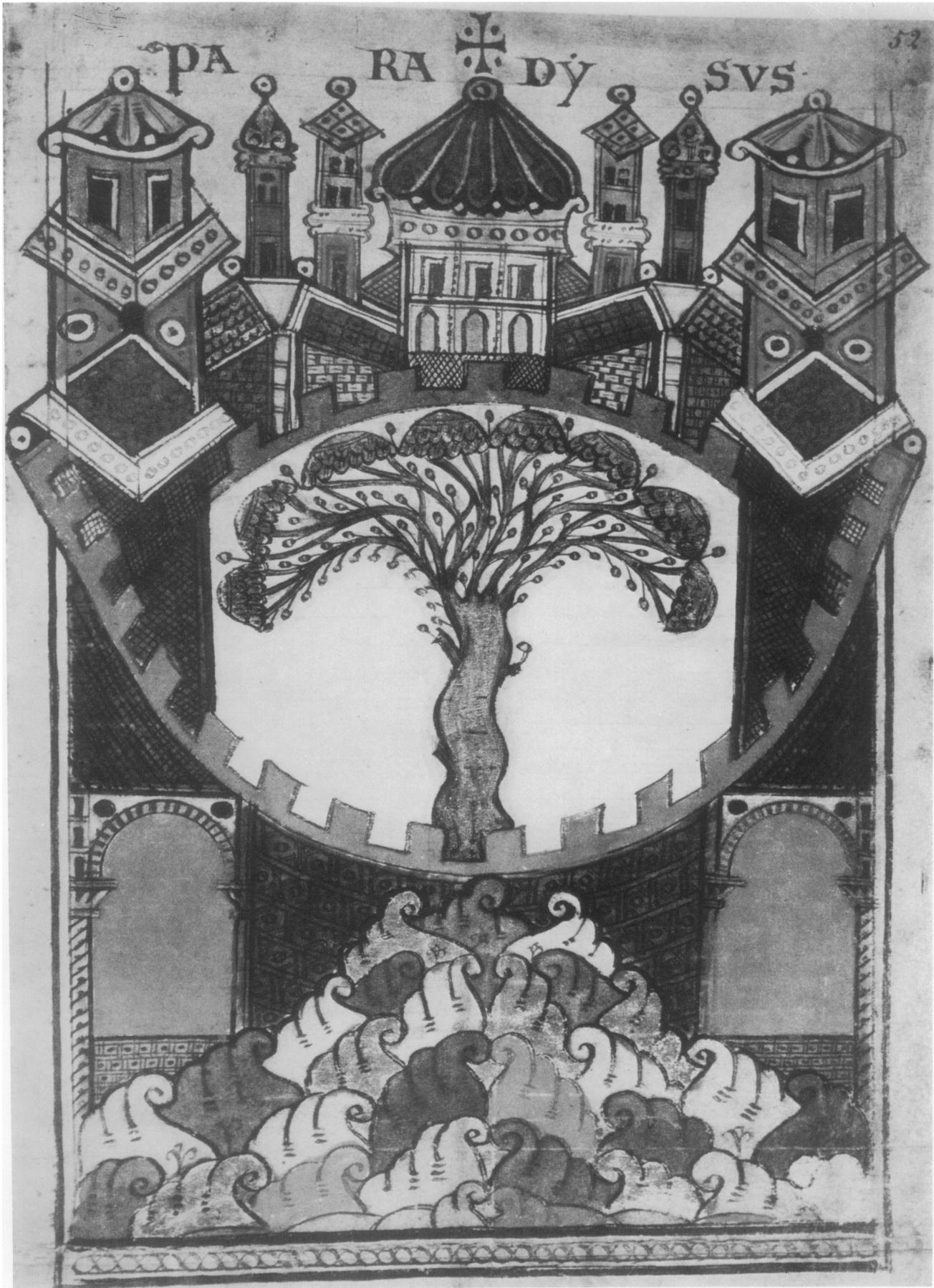




**12. Fol. 20v. Six Ages of the World**



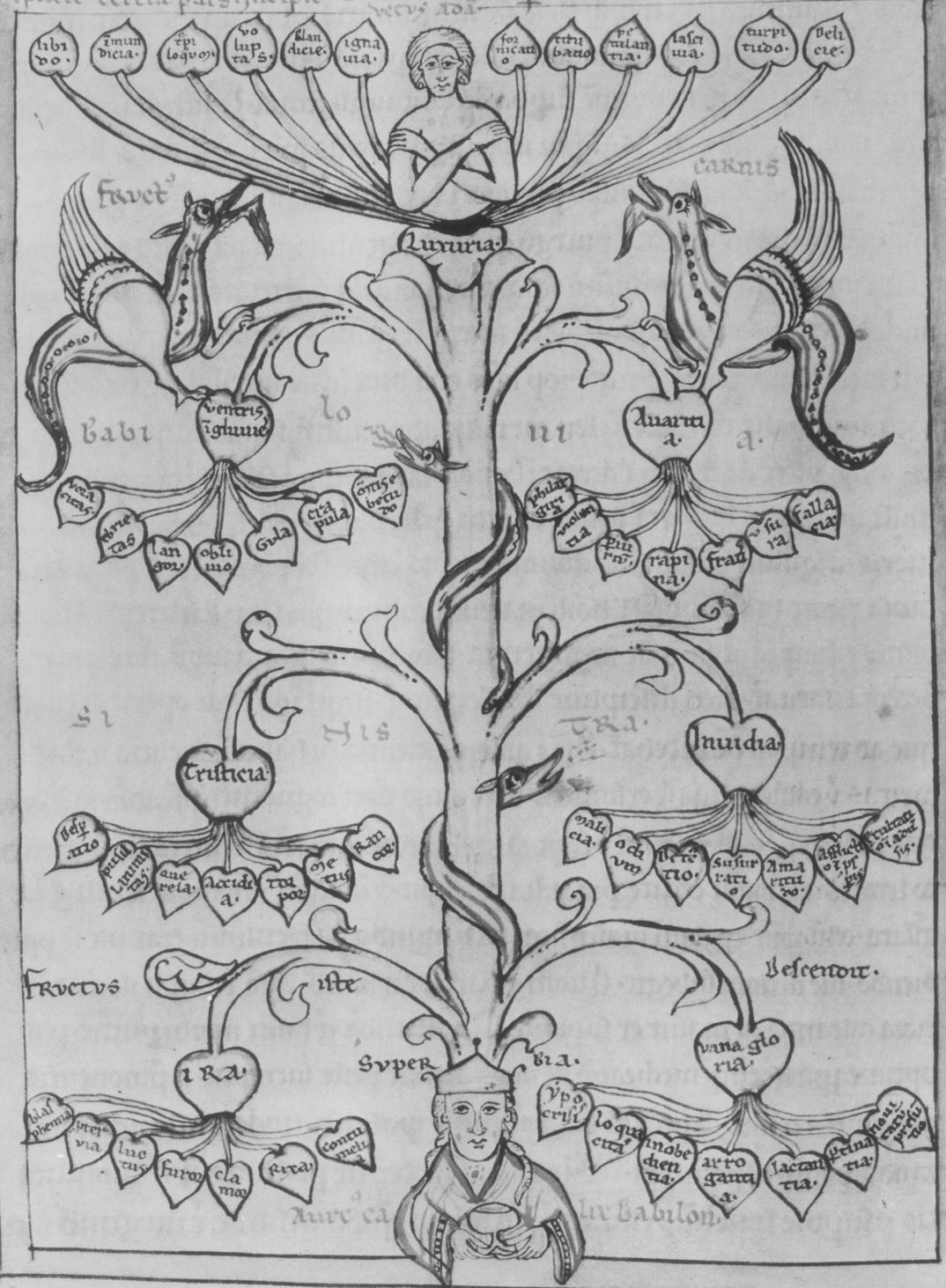
13. Fol. 20v. Six Ages of the World, detail



14. Fol. 52. Paradise

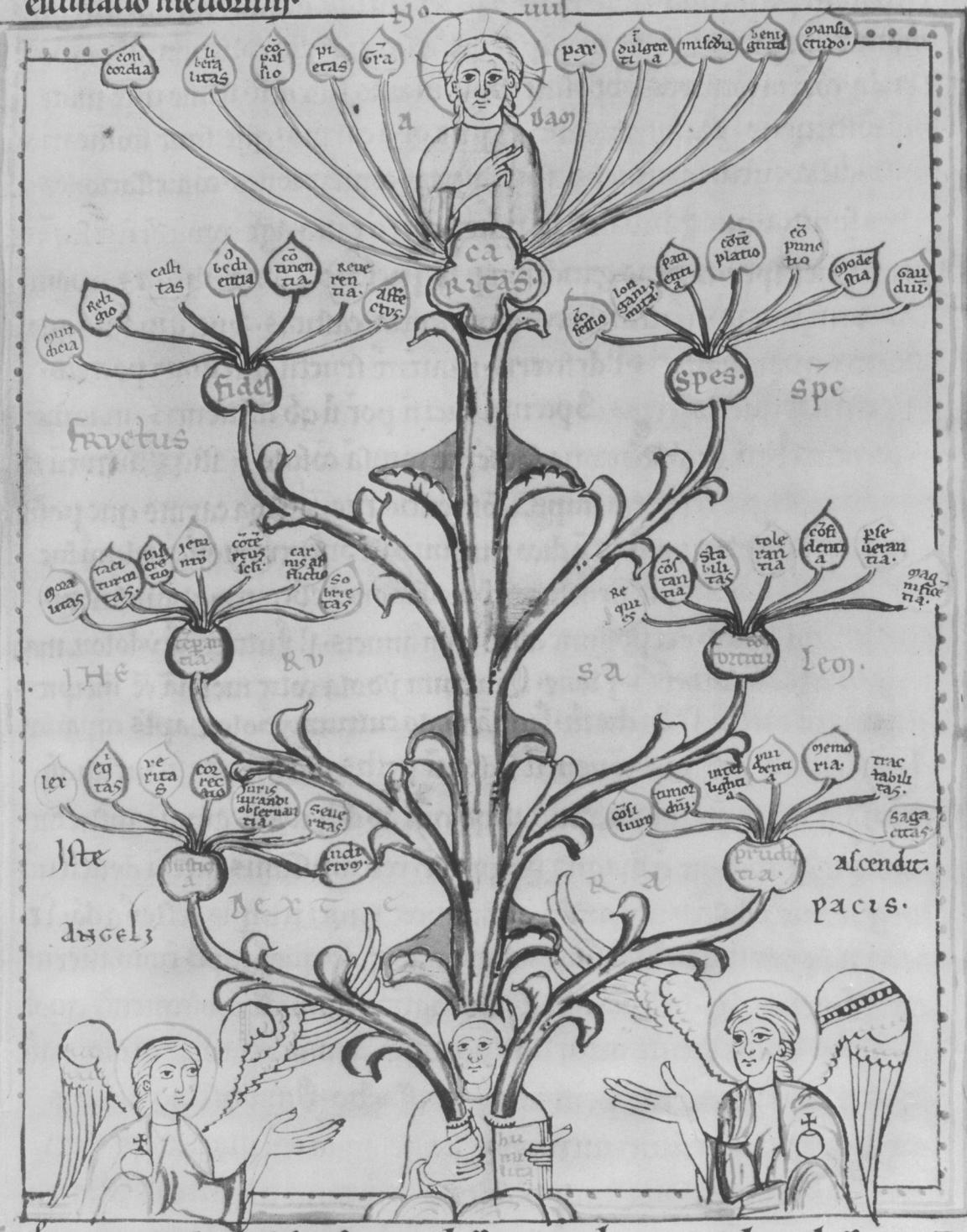
tas radicū inspecta. q̄s fructū de his eligendō sit p̄ apta declarat indicia.  
Quia ḡ uita y mors ex arbor̄ fructū puenit. formā utūsq; hic ponere

Cxplicet tertia pars. Incepit auaritia. de superbia. & humilitate.



15. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS 72, *Speculum Virginum*, Fol. 25v. Tree of Vice

— de in arce uictiose arboris positū · nouū adā obtinē puent' spalis p̄ne pa-  
tū · Deniq; si p̄stanti' dētori · id ē si bonū malo cōuineris · qđ in his emi-  
near; ualent̄ itelligis · lollatis enim q̄litatib' or̄trior̄ · luce clari' patebit  
estimatio meliorum ·



Hac itaq; arbor ut fructuum dissimilitudine. considera differentia

Lambert's floral image, then, is once again most closely associated with *Ecclesia*, on this occasion hemmed in by the unfaithful, those heretics who preach against the doctrines of the Church and who possessed Jerusalem prior to the First Crusade.<sup>71</sup> From the uncomfortable proximity of the *spinae* to the central stalk of the lily, it might be assumed that these heretics are as yet rather close to the newly restored Church. However, as in the case of the *Arbor Palmarum*, Lambert has devised a protective shield for his Church amidst tribulations. The source of the rich flowering of the *Lilium* whose blossoms expand widely above the furthest reach of the thorns and are isolated from the terrestrial part of the plant by an enframing background of midnight blue, is found in the two lists which carefully contain the spread of the *spinae* to either side.<sup>72</sup> They represent two complementary moral systems, backed up as it were by a vigilant series of plants and trees. On the right, Philosophy heads the catalogue of the seven Liberal Arts; on the left, the Holy Spirit precedes the seven virtues associated with it as its particular gifts.<sup>73</sup> The two systems are thus both temporal and celestial in nature and this is a theme carried further in the attendant foliate guard. The twelve plants which reinforce the Liberal Arts are medicinal and restorative in nature. They also appeal directly to the senses as Lambert lists them elsewhere in the *Liber Floridus* under the heading of "aromatic herbs."<sup>74</sup> For the corresponding series of trees, which accompany the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Lambert first sets down the eight trees from Ecclesiasticus representing the Church Triumphant. By this time he had made use of them on two previous occasions in the *Liber Floridus*, in the first instance in identifying the theological character of the *Arbor Palmarum* within the context of established scripture, and in the second in the individual represen-

<sup>71</sup> D. C. Munro, "The Speech of Urban II at Clermont, 1095," *American Historical Review*, 11 (1906), 231–42, and the accounts of the chroniclers in Krey, *The First Crusade*, 24ff., on both the conditions in the Holy Land and the difficulties Urban had in preaching the crusade in Europe.

<sup>72</sup> That the *spinae* are meant to be taken in a negative sense is supported more by Lambert's pictorial devices than by a dependence upon standard exegesis. Firstly, he need not have expanded the two lists on either side of the thorns and seems to have done so with the intention of framing them symbolically and literally. Secondly, in no other instance of his numerous plant illustrations does he divorce a single unit of the plant from its entirety, even when dealing as usual with a light-colored plant against a blank background. I can see no other reason for the dark background, which throws the upper part of the Lily into sharp relief, than an active desire to keep the "fruitful" part of the plant above the threat of injury below. The visual resemblance to the nave elevation of a church is almost too obvious to require comment. Further, the fact that number symbolism is a common medieval tool in both literature and architecture may account for the rather prominent appearance of significant spiritual "numbers" in the illustration as a whole. From the bottom upward, Lambert selects twelve plants and trees to support his twin lists. Individually, the number is apostolic, and doubled it implies the Second Coming through the twenty-four Elders. The seven arts and gifts above might refer to the same number of sacraments, whilst at the top the nine blossoms of the Lily itself could easily be linked to the nine choirs of angels. The mystical significance attached to numbers is frequently due to modern excessive zeal in the interpretation of the medieval mind. However, given the wholly ecclesiastical character of the Lily, the list of bishops attached to it (see *infra*, note 82), and the apocalyptic text of the chapter, I doubt that the appearance of groups of numbers consistently associated with the Church can be ignored.

<sup>73</sup> Gifts of the Holy Spirit to the left of the *Lilium*: *Caritas, Simplicitas, Mansuetudo, Patiencia, Innocentia, Abstinencia, Compunctio*. The Liberal Arts to the right are the standard Trivium-Quadriuum.

<sup>74</sup> Fol. 140v, where the aromatic plants (trees) follow the list of *Arbores* headed by the eight trees from Ecclesiasticus. They include from top to bottom: *Thymum, Myrra, Storax, Amonium, Aloen, Calamus, Balsamum, Nardus, Crocum, Acanthus, Costum*, and end with *Lilium*.

tations of the trees on folios 139v–140, where they were related to the eight Beatitudes (figs. 3, 4).<sup>75</sup> In order to complete the requisite number of twelve trees, Lambert added the laurel, known from antiquity throughout the Middle Ages as a victory symbol,<sup>76</sup> and concluded with the fir, pine, and box. These last three trees are the famous triad of Isaiah's prophecy of the Second Coming of Zion (Isa. 60:13) in which the powerful messianic proclamation of Zion appears in her promise: "And the glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the fir tree, the pine, and the box together, to beautify the place of my sanctuary; and I will make the place of my feet glorious."<sup>77</sup> In view of the climate of the First Crusade, Lambert could hardly have selected a more apposite passage in scriptural or exegetic literature than the sixtieth prophecy of Isaiah. For Isaiah states that nations and kings from all over shall come to Jerusalem, that even the sea shall aid her by naval attachments, and that the sons of these foreigners shall again raise her walls and administer her.<sup>78</sup>

The appearance of the *Lilium* amidst both the traditional eight personifications of the Church Triumphant and the three associated with prophecies of the Second Coming functions as a visual and allegorical parallel to the text of the chapter itself, written on the recto of folio 230. It contains Jerome's letter to the virgin Marcella and describes the condition, once again corporeally speaking, of those who appear before Christ at the time of the Second Coming.<sup>79</sup> As such, the letter of Jerome functions for the *Lilium* as did the speculations of Gregory the Great on an analogous subject for the *Arbor Palmarum*. Both can be interpreted as virtually legal testimonies by Church Fathers

<sup>75</sup> It should be noted that the virtues applied to the Beatitude trees are entirely separate from those associated with the Lily. The former representations are scriptural portrayals from the Old Testament and they have been endowed with virtues (beatitudes) from the New Testament. The system within which Lambert is operating in the *Lilium* is allegorical rather than purely scriptural.

<sup>76</sup> Nearly all writers of medieval exegeses, Isidore and Rabanus Maurus among them, adhere to the classical interpretation of the laurel as repeated in Ambrose, *Hexaemeron*, III, PL, 14, col. 191, where the laurel and the palm are twin symbols of victory, the former for crowning the head and the latter to be carried in the hand. The logic of this statement was simply too evident to be avoided in the Middle Ages.

<sup>77</sup> Isaiah employs these trees more than once in connection with the return of Zion in his prophecies, and very few commentators altered his original conception. One aspect of Lambert's image is intriguing in respect to the prophecy. All of his tree illustrations have stylized ground formations in which they are planted, but all of them bear a recognizable relation to a natural setting. This is not the case with the *Lilium*. The rich red-and-gold scrolls which flow about the base of the stalk and are interspersed with pearl motifs may simply be the result of Lambert's artistic imagination. On the other hand, these patterns are stylistically in the class of motifs which Lambert uses for architectonic or border decoration, much of which resembles quality metalwork of his time. Although I admit a high degree of speculation, it is tempting to see in Lambert's configurations about the base of the Lily's stalk an attempt to enshrine its roots; in other words, to bring to pictorial life Isaiah's prophecy of the glorification of the feet of Zion.

<sup>78</sup> Isa. 60:10–12.

<sup>79</sup> Jerome, *Ep. ad Marcellam*, Pl. 22, col. 587f. Jerome's letter brings in references to the apocalyptic book of Revelation and the arrival of the New Jerusalem and, therefore, is slightly stronger in tenor than the *Dialogues* of Gregory. It is backed up, moreover, by additional insertions from the works of Augustine, Gregory himself, and Julian of Toledo, all of which speak of the division of the good from the evil, the character of paradise and hell, and the anticipated date of the Day of the Last Judgment. The use of Jerome's letter as the main body of the chapter is in itself interesting. Dated 395–96, it was written by Jerome from the Holy Land to one of his faithful followers in Rome. As Jerome urged many of those in his Roman congregation to come to Jerusalem, Lambert may have decided to transcribe it not only for its content but for the historical bond between pilgrimage and crusade.

concerning the instant transmission from corporeal reality to incorporeal bliss, at least for those practiced in virtue. Moreover, the text of Jerome ends with a smooth transition into the otherwise rather inexplicable series of names set into the left margin of folio 230v. The list itself is composed of the successive bishops of Thérouanne, the spiritual center on which St. Omer was dependent.<sup>80</sup> Jerome concludes his remarks to Marcella with the reminder that, prior to the Second Coming, Jerusalem will be rebuilt, strangers will hold ceremonies in the Temple, and those offerings which had been carnal shall be made spiritual.<sup>81</sup> Apart from a distant echo of Isaiah's prophecy, Jerome's words were in fact being enacted in Lambert's own time by the Augustinian canons in charge of the Dome of the Rock, the ancient Temple Christianized, in Jerusalem. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Lambert has selected a purely ecclesiastical genealogy to form the connecting link between historical prophecy and the allegorical lily. The bishops of Thérouanne appear here as candidates for an ecclesiastical degree leading to the Resurrection.<sup>82</sup>

The *Lilium inter Spinas* is thus an image of *Ecclesia*, specifically the Church of Jerusalem, as was the *Arbor Palmarum*. The latter however, was essentially concerned with secular government. The crusader kings and Norman counts, descending from the *reges Gothorum*, were fortified with those virtues designed to make their endeavors just in the sight of God seen through the eyes of his vicar, the patriarch of Jerusalem. The *Lilium* is more specifically related to the clergy itself. It dispenses with the Cardinal Virtues so prominent in the *Arbor Palmarum* and substitutes a dual system of practical and spiritual values which apply to the inner, contemplative life. The Liberal Arts cultivate the intellect without which the state of grace conferred by the gifts of the Holy Spirit cannot be comprehended. Finally, as was also true of the *Arbor Palmarum*, the system is active and related to contemporary events, rather than being static and purely symbolic. A suitable space is allotted for future

<sup>80</sup> Giry, *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Omer* (*supra*, note 59), 124ff. The bishops of Thérouanne were periodically involved in settling disputes between the abbey of St. Bertin and the collegiate church of St. Omer, the latter of which had been ceded to the Count of St. Omer in the ninth century, with an alleged decrease in resources resulting for the abbey. With the diplomacy of a good historian, Lambert records not only the bishops upon which his own church depended, but also the chronologies of the abbots of St. Bertin as well as these of St. Omer. For the inclusion of the Thérouanne clergy at this point, see note 82 *infra*.

<sup>81</sup> . . . *ut rursum aedificetur Hierusalem et hostie offerantur in templo et spirituali cultu imminuto, carnales obtineant caerimoniae* (PL, 22, col. 588).

<sup>82</sup> On the ecclesiastical curriculum, cf. fol. 261, which followed the *adversus Judaeos* tract of Rabanus Maurus. It preserves a portion of the section on classical philosophy and the entirety of *De vera philosophia* which gives a full account of the position of the Liberal Arts and Philosophy in ecclesiastical study and the necessity of training the mind in order to perceive the essence of both the doctrines of the faith and, ultimately, Christ himself. The importance of the list of the bishops of Thérouanne in this setting should not be overlooked. The next to last bishop entered, Geraldus, was deeply involved with the First Crusade; cf. O. Bled, *Regestes des évêques de Thérouanne, 500–1553*, Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, I (Saint-Omer, 1902), 93ff. and nos. 317, 320, 321. Geraldus joined with Lambert, bishop of Arras, in helping Peter the Hermit to preach the First Crusade in the area; he himself attended the Council of Clermont in 1095, and was closely associated with Robert of Jerusalem through his wife Gertrude. For the activities of the last bishop entered, Johannes, cf. *ibid.*, 100, no. 365: "Jean I, évêque de Thérouanne, assiste à Boulogne à la translation du reliquaire du Saint-Sang rapporté de Palestine à Ide, comtesse de Boulogne, par son fils Eustache de la part de son autre fils Godefroy de Bouillon, roi de Jérusalem."

bishops of Thérouanne and the same mentality which neatly provided for the historical future in the series of names also included the *spinae* as a reminder of the inherent dangers of an existing situation.

### *ARBOR BONA AND ARBOR MALA* (Figs. 7, 8)

The *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* on folios 231<sup>v</sup> and 232 form two-thirds of an entirely pictorial chapter (CLXII); the last third represents the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar on folio 232<sup>v</sup>. As the trees are symbolic and embrace moral systems while the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar is historical and includes, among other texts, a series of genealogies, this chapter also reflects the same tripartite organization seen in those chapters containing the *Arbor Palmarum* and the *Lilium inter Spinas*.<sup>83</sup>

The *Arbor Bona* is a twelve-branched tree with *Caritas* at its roots. Each of the branches is identified by inscription and pictorial detail as a single tree or plant and each carries a medallion enclosing the personification of a virtue. Of the twelve virtues, all appeared previously among those of the more extensive cycle on the *Arbor Palmarum*; however, of the seven major virtues, only the Theological Virtues are included.<sup>84</sup> Of the twelve trees, six have been drawn from the Ecclesiasticus series. Only the palm and vine are not represented, possibly because of pictorial considerations.<sup>85</sup> The remaining six trees or plants correspond to those cited in the two lists connected with the *Lilium*. From the

<sup>83</sup> The intervening chapter, CLXI, is not discussed in the text of this paper as it requires very little analysis to explain its presence at this point. It gives an account of each of the seven wonders of the classical world, beginning with the building of the city of Rome and ending with the temple of Artemis. Its outstanding contribution to the sense of the progression from the *Lilium* to the *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* is its continuation of the series of sevens. The sevens series runs backward in symbolic and chronological time and reveals a progressive descent, spiritually speaking. It begins with the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit at the left of the Lily and proceeds to the Seven Liberal Arts on the right. From the intangible and intellectual "sevens" of Lambert's time, one moves back to the tangible seven marvels, man-made, of classical times in chapter CLXI. Eventually, the series of sevens is resolved in the fantasies of Nebuchadnezzar contained in the *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* chapter where his great seven-branched tree is not only a product of Hebraic times but expresses one of the basest of human traits, overweening pride. See *infra*, p. 59.

The *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* have been cited more frequently than any of the other trees in the *Liber Floridus*. For the basic literature, see note 10 *supra*, and A. Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche* (Regensburg, 1962), 30; Nordenfalk, *Romanesque Painting*, 158f. See also the general literature in note 1, at the beginning of this study: the confusion in the Ghent MS 92 pressmark occurs in all reproductions of the *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* which have always been taken from the original rather than from one of the copies.

<sup>84</sup> Apart from *Caritas* at the roots, *Spes* is associated with the lily, which sprouts from her medallion on the central branch of the tree and bifurcates to enclose *Castitas* (linked to the olive) at the far left on the central horizontal axis. *Fides* appears at the very top of the tree (when one looks at it on its side, as it was illustrated by Lambert) and is linked to the pine. Despite the shifts in vision and the complexity of the tree, the theological virtues are therefore easily apprehended at a glance. The medallion of *Spes* in the center is slightly larger than the others whilst *Fides*, at the upper extremity of the triangle formed by the triad, is the only virtue crowned and facing directly outward. The remaining virtues and their trees are: *Continentia*—rose, *Longanimitas*—terebinth, *Mansuetudo*—box, *Patientia*—cedar, *Gaudium*—cypress, *Sobrietas*—fir, *Pax*—plane tree, *Bonitas*—cinnamon, *Modestia*—balsam.

<sup>85</sup> As Lambert has twice represented the palm in an identical form, it is difficult to imagine how he would have inserted this distinctive tree into the illustration without losing visual unity. The vine presents the opposite problem, pictorially; it is not distinctive enough and might have been lost to sight.

list beneath the gifts of the Holy Spirit, Lambert has selected the three trees of Isaiah's prophecy of the Second Coming of Zion; from the list supporting the Liberal Arts, he has drawn the balsam, the cinnamon, and the lily itself. Hence, the *Arbor Bona* is a composite tree with twelve individual species springing from a single trunk.

Lambert indicates the nature of the *Arbor Bona* by a single title in the upper left-hand section of the page and a series of three scriptural texts. The title *Arbor Bona; Ecclesia Fidelium* makes it clear that just as the Palm and Lily, the *Arbor Bona* symbolizes the Church of the Faithful. The text in the upper right cites James (3:17), Paul (Gal. 5:22), and cursory statements gleaned from Psalms, Proverbs, and the Wisdom of Solomon.<sup>86</sup> All the texts imply a relationship between a celestial source and the fruits of the spirit. On the lower left an explanatory text reads: "Just as from a single tree many branches sprout, so from one charity many virtues are born."<sup>87</sup> The third text appears on the lower right and states: "The Arbor Bona, which is the queen to the right of God, drawn about with variety, is the church of the faithful, made up of diverse virtues."<sup>88</sup> In general, all the texts present a fairly unified front in supporting the title. They identify the tree as *Ecclesia*, stress the diversity and celestial nature of her fruits and virtues, and place Caritas at the font of both. The single, most important textual passage is that which indicates a *locus* for the tree as a whole on the right of God. It has been either overlooked or misinterpreted by scholars treating the *Arbor Bona* and is critical to the understanding of Lambert's entire chapter. At this juncture, I will simply say that *Ecclesia a dextris Dei* can only imply a Last Judgment theme and reserve further comments until the fabric of the chapter has been examined.<sup>89</sup>

The *Arbor Mala* presents a striking contrast to the *Arbor Bona* both visually and conceptually. Whereas the *Arbor Bona* is living, green, and bears colorful fruits, the *Arbor Mala* is monochromatic and dead. While the former is a composite tree, the latter is a single fig, each of its twelve faded leaves inscribed *ficula*. Instead of the healthy roots of the *Arbor Bona* which thrive in nutritious soil and produce independent shoots, the *Arbor Mala* exists in arid matter and two axes chop away at its roots. Finally, instead of the vivacious figures of the virtues that occupy the medallions on the *Arbor Bona*, only the names of the myriad vices stemming from Cupidity are inscribed in the medallions of the *Arbor Mala*.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Jacobus de arbore bona dicit: *Sapientia superna plena est fructibus bonis. Hinc Paulus: Fructus autem Spiritus est; et Dominus: Mille pacifici qui custodiant fructus eius. David rex: Fructum suum dabit in tempore suo. Hinc Salomon: Fructus eius pretiosior cunctis opibus. Hinc Sapientia dicit: Fructus eius dulcis gutturi meo.*

<sup>87</sup> *Sicut ex una arboris radice multi rami prodeunt, sic multe virtutes ex una karitate generantur.*

<sup>88</sup> *Arbor bona, quae est regina a dextris Dei, varietate circumdata, id est fidelium ecclesia virtutum diversitate amicta.*

<sup>89</sup> Behling, *Die Pflanzenwelt*, 46; *idem*, "Ecclesia als Arbor Bona," 146, records the passage, recognizes that it is related to Last Judgment iconography, but insists that it refers directly to the Virgin as intercessor and, therefore, the *Arbor Bona* is to be understood as the lily and palm: all are images of the Virgin as *Ecclesia*. Mayer, *Das Bild der Kirche*, 30, simply identifies the *Arbor Bona* as *Ecclesia* and *lignum vitae* symbol but does not propose Marian interpretations.

<sup>90</sup> As stated previously (*supra*, note 22), the vices on the *Arbor Mala* derive from Gregory's *Moralia in Job*. Lambert places *Cupiditas* at the root, and in her medallion gives the Gregorian text applying

As in the case of the *Arbor Bona*, the inscriptions surrounding the tree indicate the precise character of the *Arbor Mala*. Entitled *Arbor Mala; Synagoga*, the scriptural and explanatory texts all support those ideas that are expressed visually in the illustration. The tree is unfruitful and dead; it must be hacked out and its seed utterly dispersed.<sup>91</sup>

I stated at the outset of this paper that Lambert's *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* have been cited repeatedly in connection with other trees of Virtue and Vice, particularly those of Hugh of St. Victor and Conrad of Hirsau, created to accompany didactic treatises.<sup>92</sup> This is all the more surprising, as there are conspicuous differences between Lambert's trees and the standard didactic schemas not only visually, but conceptually. All the trees of the canonical variety represent seven-branched trees upon which are displayed the traditional seven major virtues and vices. Lambert employs a system based on twelve branches in which the four Cardinal Virtues play no part whatsoever. Again, whereas other systems agree in contrasting *Humilitas* with *Superbia* in the old Prudentian conflict of schematic opposition, the sources of good and evil in the *Liber Floridus* are *Caritas* and *Cupiditas*. Furthermore, although minor differences distinguish the systematized trees of good and evil from one another, none stress the gulf between the two pictorially, as does Lambert. And finally, it should be noted again that these trees have apexes, which are meant to be attained (or avoided) spiritually and serve to identify them typologically. In all cases, the tree of virtue concludes with Christ as the ultimate goal; the tree of vice progresses backward chronologically to Adam.<sup>93</sup>

Totally unlike the standardized trees of virtue and vice of the twelfth century, Lambert's images are organic, capable of subtle interpretation, and based upon the scriptures rather than didactic treatises of contemporary manufacture. Of all the trees, real and allegorical, which appear in the scriptures, the twelve-branched tree occurs only in Paradise, as described either

to *Avaritia*. The remaining eleven vices closely adhere to Gregory's text in the children which they produce, but Lambert frequently alters the order or name of the major vice (e.g. *Homicidium*). Major vices: *Cupiditas, Ira, Desperatio, Dissensio, Homicidium, Rixa, Emulatio, Fornicatio, Inmunditia, Luxuria, Inimicitia* (wrongly given as *Injusticia* in Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, 65 note 3), *Contentio, Invidia*. Although a few standard contrasts exist between the major vices of the *Arbor Mala* and the virtues (limited to the three on the central horizontal axis), Lambert has made no attempt to draw direct parallels between the two systems.

<sup>91</sup> For instance, *Daniel: Non stabit semen eius, et alibi: Succidite arborem et dispergite fructus eius. Haec arbor autumnalis est infructuosa, bis mortua, eradica; cui procella tenebrarum conservata est in eternum.*

<sup>92</sup> See *supra*, p. 33 and note 10; Toubert, "Une fresque de San Pedro de Sorpe," 183 and note 35, makes the rather extraordinary statement that, had Lambert not given them the titles of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, they would be indistinguishable from the standard virtue-vice trees.

<sup>93</sup> For a good summary of the literary sources of the standardized trees, cf. M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (Michigan State U. Press, 1952), 69ff. Bloomfield also connects the *Liber Floridus* trees to Hugh of St. Victor's tract, *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*. To my knowledge, none of the canonical trees contrast a living tree with a dead one through the medium of pictorial virtues and inscriptive vices. In Hugh both trees (cf. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, figs. 66, 67) have personifications; in Conrad of Hirsau's trees (figs. 15, 16) none of the virtues or vices are represented except *Superbia* and *Humilitas* at the roots. The effect in these instances is one of complete parallelism and unified governing principle. Apart from illustrating both trees as twelve-branched, Lambert forces the principle of dissimilarity as far as possible.

in Ezekiel, Apocrypha on Genesis, and Revelation.<sup>94</sup> The decision of which scriptural tree Lambert had in mind when he illustrated the *Arbor Bona* is not difficult to make. Only that in Revelation gives immortality, has twelve fruits in addition to its twelve branches, and is the tree which in Genesis stood in the center of Paradise but in Revelation is transformed and placed to the right of Christ at the time of the Second Coming. Both visually and in the texts surrounding the *Arbor Bona* Lambert makes it perfectly clear that he is presenting the apocalyptic tree and that this symbolizes the Eternal Church, which is celestial in nature unlike the terrestrial *Arbor Palmarum* and the *Lilium inter Spinas*. Of all Lambert's allegorical trees, only the *Arbor Bona* exists without threat or defect.<sup>95</sup> It is also for this reason that, of the virtues, only the theological ones appear along with those which Paul associated with the Kingdom of God (Gal. 5:22). And it explains as well the vastly different appearances of the *Arbor Bona* and the *Arbor Mala*. They do not merely represent stark moral antitheses or contrasts between Church and Synagogue, but each has its position in a geographic and chronological framework. That the *Arbor Bona* succeeds the *Arbor Mala* and amplifies the latter's character beyond accepted Old Law typology will become apparent through an examination of the historical foundation of the chapter on the treatment of the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar.

#### SECOND DREAM OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Fig. 9)

The fact that the preceding *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* are both theological and symbolic whilst the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar is primarily narrative and historical constitutes the third instance of Lambert's multi-level approach to contemporary history within a single chapter. The major elements

<sup>94</sup> On the Tree of Life in Genesis, cf. Z. Ameisenowa, "The Tree of Life in Jewish Iconography," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 2 (1938–39), 327ff. The tree in Genesis is not specified as twelve-branched but, by analogy to the twelve tribes of Israel, a number of midrashic texts written from the first century B.C. onward identify it as such. Cf. Zohar, I, 35, where the World Tree has twelve branches reaching in twelve directions. H. R. Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950; reprint, New York, 1970), 134ff.; Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree," 329ff.; Ladner, "Vegetation Symbolism and the Concept of the Renaissance," 303ff., esp. 308f.; and H. de Lubac, "L'arbre cosmique," *Mélanges E. Podechard* (Lyons, 1945), 191–98, are useful for patristic and later medieval sources on the Trees of Life and Knowledge and the concept of the Earthly Paradise. Briefly, although there are many differences in details between the descriptions of the Genesis Tree in medieval Christian writers, all agree on several points: the Tree(s) is enormous, reaching up to the sky, it has manifold fruits and feeds all nations, and from it spring the four rivers of Paradise. It is important to note that nearly all authors, particularly those used by Lambert such as Bede, Isidore, Rabanus, and the Church Fathers, are more deeply concerned with the Four Rivers of Paradise with which the Cardinal Virtues are unanimously associated than with the numerological significance of the branches of the Tree. When the twelve-branch system is mentioned, it is with reference to that of Revelation. On the symbolism generally attributed to the twelve branches as representing the apostles, cf. Bede, *Explanatio in Apoc.*, 22, 2, PL, 93, col. 204. The standard apostle interpretation also helps to explain the presence of twelve plants and trees in the *Lilium*.

<sup>95</sup> There are two exceptions to this: the tree represented in Paradise (fig. 14) and the Beatitude Trees (figs. 3, 4). These trees must be perfect simply because they are both scriptural and, typologically, manifestations of the Church in its purity.

of the Dream are based on Daniel 4:1–27, where one reads that the Babylonian King dreams of a fabulous tree. The tree stands in the middle of the earth and stretches up to the heavens; it shelters all the birds in its branches, the beasts in its shade, and feeds all mankind with its fruit. Hence, Nebuchadnezzar's tree is both universal protector and provider. As the Dream continues, a Holy One descends from the heavens and cuts down the tree, binding the stump into the earth with chains of iron. The tree, which formerly had the heart of a man, is given the heart of a beast and takes, henceforward, its lot from the earth along with the beasts of the fields. Finally, the stump of the tree is kept wet and so the situation remains until seven times have passed over it.<sup>96</sup> Daniel interprets the dream in the following manner (4:19–27): The tree is equivalent to the power of Nebuchadnezzar which shall be destroyed; Nebuchadnezzar himself will be forced to leave the kinship of mankind and join the beasts of the field, eating grass as they do and suffering from the continuous falling of dew which will keep him uncomfortably moist until seven times have passed over him; his kingdom, however, remains as does the stump bound into the earth, and shall be returned to him at the time of his recognition that it is God who rules over all mankind and not the Babylonian King. Daniel completes his interpretations with a few helpful suggestions. He advises Nebuchadnezzar to avert this calamity by general repentance and, most specifically, by showing mercy to those less fortunate. Clearly, the Babylonian King did not follow his Prophet's advice for after a space of twelve months the dream was fulfilled and Nebuchadnezzar heard a voice calling from the heavens, "O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken. Thy kingdom is departed from thee" (Dan. 4:31).

The biblical narrative contains virtually all the elements for medieval exegesis concerning the opposition of the major virtues and vices. It is clear that Nebuchadnezzar's greatest sin is *Superbia*, the root of most of the trees of vice in the Middle Ages and a captain in Prudentius' army of vices in the *Psychomachia*.<sup>97</sup> Equally obvious is repentance, which in medieval terms is rendered *Humilitas*, which Daniel offers as the primary method of avoiding impending disaster. The two major opponents of vice and virtue are, therefore, established in Daniel long before their appearance at the roots of the schematized twelfth-century trees of Hugh of St. Victor and his contemporaries. In fact, Conrad of Hirsau may have had recourse to Daniel directly, if not through earlier medieval commentaries, when he affixed the labels of Babylon and Jerusalem to the respective *Superbia* and *Humilitas* at the bases of his

<sup>96</sup> Cf. the brief discussion of this illustration in A. Boeckler, *Abendländischen Miniaturen*, 96, 121f., and pl. 97. Daniel 4:7ff.: *Videbam, et ecce arbor in medio terrae, et altitudo eius nimia. Magna arbor et fortis: et proceritas eius contingens coelum: adspectus illius erat usque ad terminos universae terrae. Folia eius pulcherrima, et fructus eius nimius; et esca in universorum ea; subter eam habitabant animalia et bestiae, et in ramis eius conversabantur volucres coeli, et ex ea vescebatur omnis caro.*

<sup>97</sup> On the development of the Prudentian cycle in the Middle Ages, see Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, 1ff., with previous bibliography. Whereas *Superbia* was originally less important than some of the other vices in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, by the time Gregory wrote the *Moralia in Job*, she heads the list of major vices as indicated earlier and included in Lambert's transcription of Gregory's text (fol. 80).

trees in the *Speculum Virginum*.<sup>98</sup> More important, Daniel's second recommendation should be taken into account. He specifically recommends that Nebuchadnezzar show mercy toward the poor. In translation into medieval thought patterns, this is *Caritas* (or *Caritas-Misericordia*), a virtue which is closest to God in the triad of the Theological Virtues and which works out its earthly destiny through a canonical set of seven acts of mercy.<sup>99</sup> *Superbia*, *Humilitas*, and *Caritas* and her alternate self were to have a tremendous impact on the moral systems of the Middle Ages in general. Nor was Lambert deaf to the exploitation of them through the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar. What sets him apart from both his predecessors and contemporary, or slightly later, writers of didactic treatises is his manipulation of these moral elements within a flexible, organic framework. In this respect, he thinks more along the lines of Daniel himself than do his medieval colleagues, for he also instructs a living king.

The illustration of the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar agrees in most respects with the biblical description. Nebuchadnezzar appears asleep in bed at the foot of the tree which is in the process of being cut down by another king. The tree itself is seven-branched and already an iron ring appears about the stump. Above the major scene a circular mandorla encloses the figure of God holding a sword; the text, which is set down immediately to the left of the mandorla, refers to the fulfillment of the prophecy and reads, *Vigil. sci. de celo clamans*. Two other texts about the illustration of the Dream refer directly to it. That at the top of folio 232v and immediately to the right of the mandorla records that the tree was cut down, its leaves shaken off, its fruit dispersed, and its stump bound into the earth to be kept moist until seven times have passed over it.<sup>100</sup> The second text, appearing to the left of the king cutting down the tree, functions as the title of the narrative. It states simply that this is the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar, Chaldean king, which was interpreted by the prophet Daniel, a member of the transmigration from Jerusalem to Babylon.<sup>101</sup> In addition to these descriptive texts, a few brief accounts drawn from the scriptural passage and a number of other texts which have nothing to do with the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar as it is written in Daniel are scattered about the major elements of the illustration. These last texts include a list of the six Ages of the World linked to their metallic properties as well as to the

<sup>98</sup> Conrad manuscripts typically show *Superbia* with the chalice in reference to the whore of Babylon of Revelation (cf. Greenhill, *Speculum Virginum*, fig. 3). The contrast between *Superbia*'s Tree and that of *Humilitas* as a conflict between Babylon and Jerusalem appears in the earliest manuscript of Hugh of St. Victor's treatise (Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, figs. 66, 67) where the Tree of Vice is inscribed: *Babilonis sinistra*, while that of Virtue is: *Ierosolim dextra*. The contrast between Babylon as evil and Jerusalem as her archenemy on the side of the just is so prevalent throughout the Middle Ages, as well as in Hebrew commentaries on the destruction of Jerusalem, that it seems pointless to cite an individual source. Cf. Greenhill, *op. cit.*, 84ff., for some of them from Augustine onwards. For the identification of Egypt in general as Babylon at the time of the Crusades, cf. any number of the crusader chronicles (e.g., that of Raymond d'Aguilers, note 14 *supra*).

<sup>99</sup> Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories*, 37f. and fig. 39.

<sup>100</sup> *Succidite arborem et prescidite ramos eius, excutite folia eius et dispergite fructum eius. Germen radicum eius alligetur vinculo ferreo in herbis et rore celi tinguatur, donec VII tempora commutentur.*

<sup>101</sup> *Somnium Nabugodonosor regis Chaldeorum, quod interpretavit Daniel propheta dum esset in transmigratione Babylonis, de statua et arbore in fine quarte etatis mundi.*

parts of the body which they represent, the six ages seen through the genealogies they encompass, the dates of the successive generations of man, and diverse allusions to the history of Babylon.<sup>102</sup>

The Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar is not, therefore, a straightforward narrative illustration and it is necessary to look for the origins of Lambert's interpretation of the event in both pictorial and literary sources available to him. Pictorially, the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar is a relatively rare occurrence in the history of art and representations of it are confined for the most part either to the great Spanish Bibles of the tenth-twelfth centuries or to the Apocalypse Commentaries of Beatus of Liebana.<sup>103</sup> In none of them is the actual event combined with historical genealogies or ages of the world. Furthermore, they are distinct iconographically from the *Liber Floridus* in one very important motif. Without exception, medieval illustrators of the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar interpreted the agent of the tree's destruction in one of two ways: either they adhered strictly to the biblical text and represented the "Holy One sent from the Heavens" as an angel,<sup>104</sup> or, more commonly, they show the tree being cut down by two or more ordinary men clad in simple peasant tunics as implied in Daniel's interpretation.<sup>105</sup> Lambert, however, is unique in representing the tree-cutter as a crowned king wearing contemporary regal garments. The significance of this departure from standard iconography as well as the text of the Bible itself can only be explained by Lambert's concept of the ancient historical event which, as it will be seen, brings us once again into the sphere of the First Crusade.

The first clue to Lambert's interpretation of the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar is found in the inscription on the ax held by the standing king. It states that the fourth age, that of iron, goes up to the *transmigrationem Babylonis*. Since the illustration as a whole is meant to show the *end* of Nebu-

<sup>102</sup> The Ages of the World appear twice: to the left of the standing king the ages are listed with parts of the body and metals (I-head, gold; II-chest, silver; III-stomach, bronze; IV-thighs, iron; V-legs, lead; VI-feet, clay). The same list of ages connected with metals appears scattered from top to bottom at the right of the king; this list substitutes genealogies for parts of the body (i.e., *Etas I aurea ab Adam usque ad Noe*, etc.). The cutting down of the tree is alluded to by the inscription: *Cecidit Babilon illa magna, cum qua fornicati sunt reges terre*. The three historical sections refer primarily to the succession of Rome after the demise of Babylon and to the advent of Christ.

<sup>103</sup> W. Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1922); for Early Christian representations of Nebuchadnezzar, cf. H. Torp, "Two Sixth-Century Coptic Stone Reliefs with Old Testament Scenes," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae*, 2 (1965), 105 ff.

<sup>104</sup> As in the Bible of S. Maria de Ripoll of the mid-eleventh century, Rome, Vat. lat. 5729, fol. 227 (Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen*, 115 and pl. 60). As is typical for the large Bibles, the Dream is represented in a series of superimposed registers, which relate earlier and later events in Daniel. In the third register from the top Nebuchadnezzar is asleep; an angel descends close to the tree and orders two small men advancing from the right to cut it down.

<sup>105</sup> Roda Bible, Paris, Bibl. Nationale, lat. 6<sup>o</sup>, fol. 65v (cf. P. Bohigas, *La ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña*, I [Barcelona, 1960], 68ff., pl. viii). Faithful to the text, the illustration shows an enormous tree with birds crowding its branches and beasts beneath; the hand of God appears in a roundel on the trunk of the tree and two small men swing axes at its roots. Nebuchadnezzar appears in the lower register, as is quite typical, naked, with snaky locks, and eating grass with the beasts. Variations on this theme prior to the thirteenth century known to me either expand the illustration to include a small army of up to five little peasants chopping down the tree, or they reduce the image drastically to include only the tree, an animal, and a woodchopper.

chadnezzar's reign, it is more than odd that the sword which cuts down the tree records a much earlier historical event—the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonian King. Evidently, Lambert wants the reader to make a direct association between Nebuchadnezzar's downfall and that of Jerusalem.

What we know of the siege of the Holy City by Nebuchadnezzar derives primarily from II Kings 25 and the Jewish historian Josephus.<sup>106</sup> Nearly all later historians and commentators on scriptural texts rely on these basic sources, regardless of moralizing embroidery. A summary of the scriptural passages from Kings indicates that Nebuchadnezzar first besieged Jerusalem, killed the sons of Zedekiah, and carried their father, blinded, back to Babylon in chains. Somewhat later, the captain of Nebuchadnezzar's troops, Nabuzardan, returned to Jerusalem, laid fire to it, defiled the Temple of Solomon, and led whomsoever he did not slaughter into slavery in Babylon.

Josephus is the first to indicate that the Babylonian victory is only one of a series of triumphs over the Holy City and that up to his time, and including the victory of Titus, Jerusalem had suffered six devastations.<sup>107</sup> Later medieval commentators rapidly picked up the significance of the Babylonian victory, the personalities of Nebuchadnezzar and his captain, the transmigration into Babylon, and the importance of the six successive wars over Jerusalem. Augustine remains the primary source for the equation of Babylon with confusion and this idea was simply enlarged upon by Bede, Isidore, and Rabanus Maurus until we arrive at Honorius of Autun, as mentioned earlier, and the identification of *Superbia* as the *filia Babylonis* in the *Speculum Virginum* of Conrad of Hirsau (fig. 15). Rabanus Maurus is quite specific on the moral implications of the affair. The transmigration itself is symbolic of the Devil who, through heresy of course, leads man fettered by errors from Jerusalem into Babylonia: that is, from *Ecclesia* into ignorance and confusion (*not* into the realm of the Synagogue).<sup>108</sup> The burning of the city of Jerusalem signifies the simultaneous destruction of the *Civitas Dei* and *Ecclesia* herself while Nebuchadnezzar and his captain Nabuzardan appear respectively as types of the Devil and his captain Antichrist.<sup>109</sup> Both Bede and Beatus of Liebana link the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem with Revelation proper. Commenting on the New Jerusalem of Revelation 21, Bede refers backward to

<sup>106</sup> Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, X, 131ff. Cf. also Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, IV, 291ff., VI, 395. Notwithstanding Torp's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar as a "prototype" of Christ (largely based on Jewish legends of his unwillingness to besiege Jerusalem and his kind attitude toward Daniel) very few medieval Christian commentators were sympathetic toward him; cf. Torp, *op. cit.*, 109f. The legend that Nebuchadnezzar was the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba was fairly current in the East, but did not affect the West to any degree.

<sup>107</sup> Josephus, *De bello Judaico*, VI, 435ff.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL, 111, col. 65; Honorius of Autun, *Speculum ecclesiae: In conv. populi*, PL, 172, col. 1095.

<sup>109</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *loc. cit.*; Honorius of Autun (*op. cit.*, PL, 172, col. 1093ff.), a contemporary of Lambert, works out a minor drama in the struggle for Jerusalem as the Devil's attack on the city of Christ. In another sermon, *Dominica II in Quadragesima*, PL, 172, col. 885ff., Nebuchadnezzar becomes *Superbia* leading six other kings, equally distinguished by a vice. The correspondence between the sermons of Honorius and the identification of *Superbia* as the *filia Babylonis* (or simply *Babylon*) in the standardized *Arbor Vitiorum* of Hugh of St. Victor and Conrad of Hirsau is, therefore, closely connected to contemporary or slightly earlier popular sermons.

its initial destruction under Nebuchadnezzar and predicts that the New Jerusalem will have twelve walls and twelve gates.<sup>110</sup> Since the latter part of Bede's commentary is only a recapitulation of Revelation itself, he is apparently making the distinction between the six-gated historical Jerusalem and the twelve-gated apocalyptic one. Beatus is more concrete for our purposes as he is concerned with the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar and its significance for Revelation. He not only sees the relation between the Second Dream and the first destruction of Jerusalem but equates the "seven times passing over of the tree stump" with numerological speculations on the advent and reign of Antichrist.<sup>111</sup> Further, he includes in his commentary on the Apocalypse elements from Nebuchadnezzar's First Dream. This particular nocturnal vision involved a gigantic statue made up of a variety of metals associated with different parts of its body (Dan. 2:31 ff.). As in the case of the second dream's tree, the statue also represented the power of Nebuchadnezzar and suffered a similar fate by dismemberment. Beatus identifies the image composed of six metals as the Leviathan, the creature who shall terrorize the earth at the time of Antichrist and, by extension, he includes Nebuchadnezzar in the analogy, suggesting that the King himself was a composite of all that is evil.<sup>112</sup>

The six different metals, linked to the ages of the world, as they appear in the *Liber Floridus* illustration beside the standing king, are especially important. They do not represent a conflation of the two dreams, as has been suggested,<sup>113</sup> but rather reflect Lambert's attitude toward the text of Daniel, tempered by the intermediary commentators on both Daniel and Revelation and given a new slant by crusader propaganda. For, originally, Daniel had interpreted the composite statue as successive kingdoms: the head is Nebuchadnezzar and succeeding parts are inferior kingdoms down to the feet at the sixth age where myriad kingdoms squabble amongst themselves. As usual, Daniel assumes that the greater kingdom of God will supersede these last kingdoms.

<sup>110</sup> Bede, *Explanatio in Apoc.*, PL, 93, col. 195.

<sup>111</sup> Beatus of Liebana, *Explanatio Apoc.*, 20,7, in *Beati in Apocalypsin libri duodecim*, ed. H. A. Sanders (Rome, 1930), 610.

<sup>112</sup> Ed. Sanders, 474–76, and Jerome's *Commentary on Daniel*, 2:31 ff., which Beatus appended to his own text (cf. W. Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und alchristlichen Bibelillustration* [Münster, 1931], 222 ff. and figs. 199–201, and the facsimile edition of the Gerona cathedral Beatus of A.D. 975, *Sancti Beati a Liebana in Apocalypsin Codex Gerundensis*, ed. T. Burckhardt [Lausanne, 1962], fols. 60v–61v, 244). Beatus also links the different parts of the statue's body to kingdoms of the world ranging downward from the Chaldeans, Medes and Persians, Macedonians, etc. Already implied by Daniel's prophecy, Beatus only gave specific names of dynasties to the image so that factual history and prophecy were linked in his commentary. Nebuchadnezzar's composite statue, the succession of empires, and apocalyptic beasts had been connected considerably earlier than Beatus in Antichrist treatises, for which see especially Hippolytus, *Christ and Antichrist*, trans. S. D. F. Salmond, Anti-Nicene Christian Library, IX (Edinburgh, 1896), chap. 19, p. 13ff.

<sup>113</sup> Boeckler, *Abendländische Miniaturen*, 121f. Boeckler suggests that the standing king is meant to represent the statue itself, an interpretation I find impossible to accept on purely visual grounds as well as textual ones. A conflation does exist but it is limited to Lambert's inclusion of parts of the body next to metals and ages of the world. To my knowledge, he is the first author to fuse all three. The writer who is presumed to have "invented" this fusion, Philip of Harveng (*De somnio regis Nabuch.*, PL, 203, col. 586f.), died in 1183. It is more than possible that Philip traded upon ideas already in circulation through the medium of the *Liber Floridus*.

That Lambert connected Daniel's prophetic interpretation of the Second Dream with the First Crusade is clear from the illustration and the lengths he went to in order to tack on elements of the six metals and ages of the world, suggested elsewhere in Daniel. Lambert's unique king who delivers the blow to Nebuchadnezzar's tree stands firmly on a base labelled *etas VI* and must be a crusader king, as it is his age which is responsible for the final blow to the tree of Nebuchadnezzar, the restitution of Jerusalem, and the preparation for the seventh age, that of Antichrist. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the metals, linked to the succession of empires, were also included by Lambert specifically in relation to Urban's speech calling for the First Crusade at Clermont (a text which Lambert includes in the *Liber Floridus*). Urban had invoked a general peace in urging the feudal lords to set aside their internecine strife in order to free the Holy Land, and the multiplicity of miniature "kingdoms" and their perennial feuds in Lambert's own territory may have brought Daniel's prophecy concerning the social structure of the sixth age to the uppermost in his mind.<sup>114</sup>

Lambert's illustration of the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar, then, is not a representation of an isolated historical narrative and must be seen in connection with both the *Arbor Bona* and the *Arbor Mala* which complete the sense of the entire chapter. The prototype of the *Arbor Mala* is the World Tree of Nebuchadnezzar. Both are cut down as fruitless and their seed is scattered. They differ in that the tree of Nebuchadnezzar is kept alive, although chained into the ground, while the *Arbor Mala* is being hacked out at the roots. From the dispersed seed of the tree of Nebuchadnezzar a variety of lesser kingdoms may sprout; the seed of the *Arbor Mala* is utterly destroyed. Only in the seventh age, predicted the commentators, would the hateful tree of Babylon, symbolizing the first of Jerusalem's aggressors, be cut out of the ground by its roots and cast down for all eternity.<sup>115</sup> In other words, what was predicted of Nebuchadnezzar's tree on folio 232v has become fact in the illustration of the barren fig tree on the recto of the same folio; the tree is no longer seven-branched and historical, but twelve-branched and apocalyptic.

The *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* also represent successive stages in the history of the seventh age, and the first not only follows the second in time but depends upon its destruction in order to come into being. The *Arbor Bona* stands on the right of God, as noted earlier, because this is its place at the time of the Last Judgment. It is the visionary tree of Revelation, accompanies Christ at the Resurrection, and holds out the promise of multiple spiritual delights Gregory had described in his *Dialogues* for the faithful. Those without faith, including *Synagoga*, will go down into the abyss with the *Arbor Mala* for all eternity. For this reason, Lambert prefaced the *Lilium inter Spinas* with passages from Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, and the arch-

<sup>114</sup> Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont," 131 ff. Cf. also Giry, *Histoire de la ville de Saint-Omer*, 32, and Bled, *Regestes des évêques de Thérouanne*, nos. 349, 434, for the periodic necessity of ordering a "Peace of God" between the nobility at odds with each other in the years 1099–1114. Lambert also notes the imposition of the enforced truces in his annals.

<sup>115</sup> Bede, *Explanatio in Apoc.*, PL, 93, col. 153; Beatus of Liebana, *op. cit.*, ed. Saunders, 608, 610.

enemy of the Jews and heretics in Spain, Julian of Toledo. All point to the finality of the Last Judgment and their words are echoed in the texts surrounding both symbolic trees.<sup>116</sup>

In the almost entirely pictorial chapter CLXII, Lambert has fused the threads which run continuously throughout the encyclopedia. History from the Old Testament to Lambert's lifetime is spun out in the succession of empires and ages of the world in Nebuchadnezzar's Dream. The vision of the Chaldean King forms a prototype for the many fantasies, both good and evil, visited upon so many of the characters who appear upon the stage of universal history. It is also one of the earliest dreams, chronologically speaking, to find its way into the *Liber Floridus*. As such, it occupies an important position in a series of cosmocrator dreams, which lead from Solomon to Nebuchadnezzar, to Alexander, to the *Somnium Scipionis*, and to that of Charles the Bald.<sup>117</sup> The Second Dream of

<sup>116</sup> Cf. the statement by Greenhill, *Speculum Virginum*, 98, in which she draws attention to the fact that Conrad's Trees of Virtue and Vice represent an important step towards rationalization in shifting Lambert's *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* from left to right so that his schemas (as well as those of Hugh) always place Vice on the left and Virtue on the right. If nothing else, such a remark reveals the extent to which Lambert has been misunderstood by extremely competent scholars. Lambert's *Arbor Bona* participates in the Last Judgment and is placed precisely where it should be; namely, on the right hand of Christ.

A certain amount of organization of Lambert has obviously taken place in the copies of the manuscript itself. Further study is needed in this area but two observations may be made here. Concerning the close connection of the *Lilium inter Spinas* with the *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala* chapter, no less than five manuscripts remove the lily illustration and place it next to the palm (Leyden, Chantilly, Douai, and both manuscripts in The Hague). Further, all but Chantilly remove the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar from the place it occupies in the Ghent MS and place it before the *Arbor Bona*. In essence, they appear to reorganize Lambert by separating the contemporary from the Last Judgment sphere and to make Nebuchadnezzar the historical prototype of the Last Day by having him precede quite literally the *Arbor Bona* and *Mala*. In not a single instance has a later copyist attempted to switch the positions of the *Arbor Bona* and *Arbor Mala*. Since all the MSS were executed when the schematic virtue and vice trees were highly popular, it seems likely that Lambert's copyists in the Middle Ages understood his intentions perfectly.

<sup>117</sup> Alexander's voyage to India and his mystical experiences begin on fol. 153v, the *Somnium Scipionis* is on fols. 222v–224v, that of Charles the Bald begins on fol. 207v. Historical parallels can be found in the advice given to kings in similar visions, including Nebuchadnezzar. All are advised to show mercy to the poor, or to display *caritas-misericordia*. The same advice was given to kings and ranking nobles in the First Crusade. For the distribution of alms deriving from money donated for the Crusade, cf. Bredero, "Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval," 266. On Nebuchadnezzar as a cosmocrator, cf. Torp, "Two Sixth-Century Coptic Stone Reliefs," 109, with references to Hebrew and Christian literature. The idea of cosmic kingship is closely linked to the Ages of the World (see *infra*, note 124) and messianic speculation based on Daniel (cf. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, esp. chap. II). On cosmic kingship in general, cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 200ff. and esp. 291ff.

That the imperial visions in Lambert's book form a continuous theme is clear in relation to the numerous other visions in the *Liber Floridus*. The function of the cosmocrator dreams in regard to the encyclopedia as a whole is beyond the scope of this paper. These dreams, however, form one of the three major themes used by Lambert to tie the disparate elements of the book together; they are the subject of a separate study, which I am preparing for publication. What should be stated here is that I believe that the *Liber Floridus*, as Lambert originally wrote it, hinged in large part on the succession of six earthly cosmocrators and two supernatural ones. Both chronologically and in its place in the encyclopedia, the series begins with Solomon Enthroned, the subject of chapter X. The gathering which contained Solomon (and the important illustrated Apocalypse) is now lost in the Ghent manuscript but is preserved in the original order in the earliest copy in Wolfenbüttel (fols. 8–18v). Lambert's eight cosmocrators are the following: Solomon, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander the Great, Augustus, Charles the Bald, the king of crusader Jerusalem, Antichrist, and Christ on the Mount of Olives. All are involved with Jerusalem in some way and each either receives or initiates a vision which serves to link many of the subsidiary themes in the encyclopedia.

Nebuchadnezzar is not satanic in origin but was directly inspired by God and interpreted through his prophet Daniel. On the opposite end of the scale of divinely inspired visions lies Revelation and thus the *Arbor Bona*, which stands on the right hand of God at the Second Coming, is the ultimate dream image which God projects upon the prophet of his New Testament, the Apostle John. Between these historical antipodes, the first shrouded in a time before the Roman Empire was a foreseeable element in the progression of human affairs, and the second equally elusive in the sphere of an unknown future, Lambert has swung the whole history of Jerusalem as the focal point of man's destiny within a theocentric universe. Wherever the Middle Ages might have sought the Earthly Paradise, Lambert knows that Jerusalem is the reality, geographically and symbolically, in whose milieu man will, or will not, attain the Celestial Paradise.<sup>118</sup>

The king whom he portrays standing on the base of the sixth age is a cosmocrator himself, partly because he surmounts that age and partly because of the power he wields in the possession of Jerusalem. I do not think it is stretching a point to suggest that the crusader king is also involved in a vision, both on textual and pictorial grounds. From the textual point of view, he is acting as the agent of God, who directs him in the overthrow of Babylon. Since he is receiving his instructions from a supernatural source, the crusader king must, a priori, function through the medium of divine vision. Moreover, the antithesis between the dormant Nebuchadnezzar, who did not heed the command of God, and the definitive action of the contemporary king, who performs the order given him, is inescapable. The former lost his empire and, more important, lost his soul. In the words of Gregory, it is only the animal among God's creations who gives up his soul at the time he gives up his flesh, and Nebuchadnezzar's wanton disregard of God's power put him precisely in that position.<sup>119</sup> It is unnecessary for Lambert to illustrate, as do the Spanish Bibles and Apocalypse Commentaries, the image of a stunned Nebuchadnezzar groping about on all fours, as trees and humans are interchangeable in his system of imperial determination. That the tree is cut down and given the heart of a beast is sufficient to indicate the destiny of Nebuchadnezzar.

But if Nebuchadnezzar is doomed, what of the king himself? Pictorially, he differs from all other human images in the *Liber Floridus*, with the exception of Charles the Bald. He does not look out at the spectator, as do the cosmocrators Augustus in the temporal realm (fig. 11), Peter in the papal realm (fol. 168), and St. Audomaris in the monastic realm (fol. 6<sup>v</sup>). Nor is he deeply involved in the action which he performs. He looks neither at the tree itself nor at the sleeping Nebuchadnezzar, but slightly upward and obliquely outward, in short, into space. The only parallel for his abstraction is found in the rep-

<sup>118</sup> Patch, *The Other World*, 80ff., and G. Boas, *Essays on Primitivism* (Baltimore, 1948), 54ff., are useful for the medieval speculations on the location and appearance of the Earthly Paradise. For the Seth legend, included in the *Liber Floridus* on fol. 2, and its connection with the return to Paradise, cf. Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree," 325ff. On Jerusalem as the center of the universe, cf. Bredero, "Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval," 264ff. and the texts cited.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. note 26 *supra*, for Gregory's division of soul and flesh.

resentation of Charles the Bald (fol. 207), who is expressly inscribed as having a vision. The attitude of the crusader king, coupled with his huge size, nearly equivalent to the tree he destroys, strongly suggests that he is in a state of metaphysical suspension. His act is symbolic, but he is listening to the words of God, transmitted through the six ages of human and environmental history. The act which he performs is ritualistic and he seems to be conscious that, as he has destroyed Babylon symbolically, so may he be destroyed in an inexorable succession of kingdoms.

The cosmocrator, the tree, and the vision may now be summarized in the development which Lambert has presented in the *Liber Floridus*. The crusader king is the last in a series of cosmocrators, the first of whom lies passively at his feet. Up to Lambert's time of writing, the two figures constitute the first and last emperors to breach the walls of Jerusalem in the temporal domain. One final cosmocrator is reserved for the future and that is Antichrist (fig. 10). It has been suggested that his formal position on the Leviathan resembles most closely that of Christ as He appears in a mandorla in the apocalyptic illustration on folio 88.<sup>120</sup> In certain respects this is true, but he is also identical to the portrait of the founder of the Roman Empire, Augustus, from whom the Frankish kings descend.<sup>121</sup> The crusader king surmounts the sixth age, and by the time one has arrived at this point in the *Liber Floridus* Lambert gives the reader little room for doubt that the reconquest of Jerusalem and the uprooting of Babylon will bring about the seventh age, that of Antichrist, in a short span of time.

To the best of his ability, Lambert has fortified his king with a series of moral standards attached to the trees, existing at the beginning of the twelfth century. The *Arbor Palmarum* is the kingdom of the First Crusade in Jerusalem and has returned to it *Ecclesia* in the guise of all her scriptural trees flourishing in a peaceful Holy Land. Because of the impending danger of Antichrist, the

<sup>120</sup> Poesch, "The Beasts from Job in the *Liber Floridus* Manuscripts," 42. The portrayal of Antichrist is also based on Solomon Enthroned as he appears in the Wolfenbüttel copy (fol. 8v). The fundamental distinction between the two images lies in their respective attributes. Solomon holds a flowering scepter in his left hand and a sword pointed downward (signifying *pax*) in his right. Antichrist holds aloft a scepter which is an odd combination of staff and lance in his right hand and, satanically, blesses with his left. Lambert deliberately, I believe, contrasts the builder of the Temple and the future king whose mission is to destroy the Church, successor to the Temple. The same contrast occurs between Nebuchadnezzar and the crusader King, but the roles are reversed. Here the former destroyed Jerusalem and the Temple; the latter's task must be to rebuild it (see note 117 *supra*).

<sup>121</sup> On the descent of the Frankish kings according to historians of the twelfth century, cf. Sanford, "The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages," 36ff.; and on the practice of establishing racial genealogies of Franks and Germans from the Roman Empire (or from Troy), cf. B. Smalley, "A Pseudo-Sibylline Prophecy of the Early Twelfth Century in the *Life* of Altmann of Passau," *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, 656f., and Boas, *Essays on Primitivism*, 133f. Needless to say, Lambert offers throughout the text of the *Liber Floridus* proofs of this genealogical succession, both in extremely abbreviated annalistic entries and in extensive sections on ancient and modern history inserted at critical points. One of these occurs immediately after the *Arbor Bona* and *Mala* and Nebuchadnezzar chapter; chapter CLXVIII (fols. 233–234) is concerned with the progression of Old Testament succession up to the fall of Jerusalem under Titus. The following chapter, CLXVIIII (fols. 234–240v) takes Frankish history from Troy up through the Roman Empire and that of the Merovingians and Carolingians; it concludes with the taking of Jerusalem by the crusaders and the genealogy of both Frankish and Flemish participants.

Kingdom of Jerusalem is protected by an enormous cycle of virtues. The *Lilium inter Spinas* might be called the Church at home because of the list of local bishops attached to it, but the distance which separates St. Omer from Jerusalem is minimal in Lambert's mind. Antichrist is destined to appear in Jerusalem and the city must be guarded. The legions of Antichrist will walk the earth and in St. Omer, its churches and monasteries miniature reflections of Jerusalem, one must refine mind and soul as well.<sup>122</sup> And so the crusader king in the Second Dream of Nebuchadnezzar stands on the brink of an uncertain future. Before him lies the *Arbor Mala*, a wasteland of vice which must be overcome in order to bring into existence the spiritual fruits of the *Arbor Bona*. Between the two trees and the crusader king stands Antichrist as the final cosmocrator in human history.

Lambert presents his king and readers with three additional illustrations which reveal the fantasies of Satan, an insight into reality, and the true vision of God. The first is contained in the representation of Antichrist on the Leviathan (fig. 10) who looks like Augustus because he is a cosmocrator and like God because he has pretensions in that direction. He is unmistakably attractive and, therefore, all the more dangerous. But shortly after his Preface, Lambert shows the reader what to expect. In the schema of the Six Ages on folio 20v the limits of the sixth age are established in time and Antichrist appears as he really is. The entire schema (fig. 12) is organized into six compartments divided by intersecting arcs. Within each compartment appear the genealogies and facts pertinent to the age; the intersecting arcs bear the titles of the ages and the years of their respective durations. The sixth age appears in the upper left-hand quadrant (fig. 13) and bears the title: *VI etas usque ad captam Hierusalem annos MXXIX* in the enclosing arc. The interior of the compartment gives the genealogy of the age in entirely spiritual terms. Beginning with Augustus, the age comprises consecutively Christ, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, and virgins.<sup>123</sup> The history of the sixth age ends: *In hac anno Domini MXCIX Godefridus dux cepit Hierusalem, ind. VII.* One detail sets the information given for the sixth age apart from all others in the schema and is unparalleled in computations of the sixth age elsewhere: whereas all the other ages contain a number of years, none but the sixth age gives a specific date for the terminus of the age. A second oddity is that, of the other ages, only the fourth age reports at some length in the history the capture of a city; in this case it is, of course, the capture of King Zedekiah of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar which ends the age's chronology. Lambert has presented his reader with a closed system. The sixth and the fourth ages correspond in terminating their histories with the fall of Jerusalem and the sixth age does

<sup>122</sup> Bredero, "Jérusalem dans l'Occident médiéval," 268ff. and esp. 271, with passages from the twelfth century (e.g., Bernard of Clairvaux), discusses briefly the exhortations of preachers urging clerics to continue their duties rather than to participate in the crusade. The image of the monastery as a mirror of Jerusalem was fairly common in the twelfth century, when the study of texts, both secular and theological, as well as devotion formed a contemplative substitute for an actual pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

<sup>123</sup> *Octavianus, Christus, apostoli, evangeliste, martyres, confessores, virgines.*

not lead *usque ad nos*, as it should, but ends abruptly in 1099 with Godefried's capture of Jerusalem.<sup>124</sup>

The image of *Mundus* in the center of the schema is the vision of Antichrist revealed. What is traditionally a medieval reduction of a classical personification of *Annus* has become in the schema the horrifying image of Satan's military chief.<sup>125</sup> The world has grown old, according to Lambert in this image, and man has aged with it. For the schema is both macrocosm in the completed history of the earth in the sexpartite diagram, and microcosm in the list of the ages of man's life beneath a world which bears the stamp of Antichrist. The last of man's ages is the seventh, *decrepita usque ad annos finis*, and is equivalent to the seventh age of the world represented visually in the center of the schema: the age of Antichrist.<sup>126</sup>

The crusader king who so pensively meditates on the downfall of Nebuchadnezzar on folio 232v has therefore very little real choice in the matter. Anti-

<sup>124</sup> On the considerable literature on the Ages of the World, primarily descending from Augustine's divisions of time and history, cf. Boas, *Essays on Primitivism*, esp. 177ff. on Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manich.*, PL, 34, 190ff.; J. Sporl, *Grundformen hochmittelalterlicher Geschichtsanschauung* (Munich, 1935), 120f.; cf. also Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, 179ff. Although computations on the precise date of the end of the world are common in the literature of all religious sects, the actual date proposed is not merged with the system of ages, unless it is in terms of a prophetic future (usually, quite far from the date of the author's lifetime); cf. Vasiliev, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East," *passim*, and the selection of dates given by F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopedia of the Later Middle Ages," *JWarb*, 5 (1942), 85ff. Lambert elsewhere in the encyclopedia adheres to the common practice: fol. 139 includes the *Etas Mundi Sexta*, facing the portrayal of Augustus and completing chapter CXXIIII on the Ages of the World. The sixth age ends: *Et cum revelatus fuerit filius perditionis Antichristus, regnabit tribus annis et dimidio. Quo Dei spiritu interfecto dies Domini veniet et mundus iste finietur.* A date is implied without being stated.

<sup>125</sup> On the *Mundus-Annus-Homo* relationships, see J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York, 1961), 49ff.; H. Bober, "The Zodiacal Miniature of the Très Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry: Its Sources and Meaning," *JWarb*, 11 (1948), 1-34; J. Baltrusaitis, "L'image du monde céleste du IX<sup>me</sup> au XII<sup>me</sup> siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 20 (1938), 134ff.

<sup>126</sup> On the world grown old as a *contemptus mundi* theme, cf. Boas, *Essays on Primitivism*, 177ff., and the *De contemptu mundi* of Bernard of Cluny dedicated to Peter the Venerable (cf. K. Giocarinis, "Bernard of Cluny and the Antique," *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 27 [1966], 310-48 and esp. 343ff.). There may be a close connection within the *Liber Floridus* itself between the image of *Mundus* as Antichrist on fol. 20v and that of the Minotaur in the center of the Labyrinth on the recto of the same folio. The monster is represented horned, rather like the Behemoth-Devil illustration on fol. 62, and carries a sword upright in his right hand, precisely in the fashion of Antichrist on the Leviathan, Augustus, etc. Lambert would then, if this hypothesis can be substantiated, have juxtaposed an ancient distortion of nature confined within a maze created by one of history's most famous craftsmen to a diabolic phantom of the future contained in the center of a schema created by God, the universal architect. That both the Minotaur and Antichrist represent the desires of the flesh and are used to contrast Satan and Christ in a *fornicatio-castitas* opposition would tend to support such a theory (cf. Seznec, *op. cit.*, 223f.). On the relationship between the Ages of the World and the Ages of Man, cf. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, esp. 181 in reference to the *Liber Floridus*; Smalley, "A Pseudo-Sibylline Prophecy," 660. According to Honorius of Autun (*De imagine mundi*, PL, 172, col. 156), and depending on the six ages of man and the world suggested by Augustine, *sunt sex aetates hominis: prima, infantia . . . , secunda, pueritia . . . , tertia, adolescentia . . . , quarta, juventus . . . , quinta, senectus . . . , sexta, decrepita . . .* Honorius continues with a description of the Ages of the World which corresponds to the system used by Lambert in the Macrocosm. Lambert has altered the ages of man from six to seven by inserting *gravitas* between *juventus* and *senectus*. Lambert appears to depend ultimately on the description of the fifth age given by Augustine in the *De Genesi contra Manich.*, I, xxiii, PL, 34, col. 191f. (which found its way into the encyclopedias of Isidore and Rabanus and was used by Julian of Toledo as well), where both the age and man slide downward from youth without having attained what might properly be called old age. That this is the age which was terminated by the Jewish denial of Christ made the *gravitas* notion particularly popular among the writers of *adversus Judaeos* tracts. Cf. Julian of Toledo, *De comprobatione aet. sextae*, PL, 96, col. 537ff.

christ is abroad, or at least hovering above the world like a monstrous cosmic phenomenon. His allies are everywhere: heretics, those weak in faith, schismatics, the partakers of every vice Lambert has set down in the *Liber Floridus*. Virtue will assist the crusader king in the struggle against Antichrist but only Christ himself and the Church can effect his triumph over the adversary. Like an exorcist, Lambert painstakingly fixes each age into its historical slot with the sign of the cross and superimposes a seventh Christian device over the head of the apparition itself, as if to keep it at bay.<sup>127</sup>

Providing the last crusader king is successful in his battle, the *Arbor Mala* will be cast down for eternity, the *Arbor Bona* will come into existence, and the people of the ages, from Adam to the crusaders, will be liberated from their temporal compartments in order to face a spiritual judgment. For the just, the final reward is an eternal life in a never-changing eighth and ultimate age. The locus of that age is, of course, the celestial Paradise, and Lambert gives a vision of it on folio 52 (fig. 14). Paradise is walled, supplied with twin gates, and the waters of the four rivers surge about its battlements. It also contains the eternal Tree of Life. It is distinguished from all other trees in the *Liber Floridus* by its lack of resemblance to a recognizable species, and this is simply because Lambert does not know what it looks like, other than the negative evidence that the Tree of Life in Paradise is not found on earth. He suggests its total vitality by coloring the entire tree green, even to the extent of its trunk, in opposition to the perennially green, but terrestrial *Arbor Palmarum*. He endows it with abstract fruits similar to those which sprout from the branches of the *Arbor Bona*, but colors these gold whereas the latter's are green. Symbolically, the uppermost branches terminate in eight leafy protective canopies, in contrast to the seven massive fruits of Nebuchadnezzar's tree which wave about seeking to conquer in all directions. Finally, Lambert delicately suggests that the Tree of Life either has no roots, not requiring nourishment from the earth after the manner of normal plants, or that we have no knowledge of its life source. For the present, the Tree of Life in Paradise remains a celestial vision, existing in pure space, and the future for the Crusaders under the Palm lies in the balance.

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<sup>127</sup> The same cross is used on fol. 88 at the apex of the mandorla surrounding Christ of the Second Coming and, if the Wolfenbüttel copyist can be trusted in the matter of reproducing minute detail, above the head of Solomon Enthroned. It is a simple device and one which originally appeared quite in keeping with a fundamentally Christian encyclopedia. However, Lambert does not use it himself in other quite similar schemas, nor have I found it in schematic diagrams depending on the *De natura rerum* of Bede and other medieval Macrocosm illustrations. In the face of this evidence, one cannot overlook the possibility that the terminal crosses are more than picturesque in the *Aetates mundi* illustration.